

**Camp #9:**  
***An Historical and Archaeological Investigation of a Depression Era Relief Camp in  
Prince Albert National Park***

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By  
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## **Abstract**

In 1929 the New York Stock Exchange crashed, ushering in a decade that would come to be known as the Great Depression. Although the Depression was a global phenomenon its impact was influenced by a variety of local economic and environmental conditions. On the prairies, a nearly decade long drought occurred at the same time forcing people from farms and driving thousands of people into unemployment. By the summer of 1932 conditions deteriorated to the point where the Conservative Government, under the leadership of Prime Minister Richard B. Bennett, enacted a federally supported relief program. Relief camps, which provided room, board and a meagre allowance in exchange for work, opened under the administration of both the Department of National Defence and, within the western National Parks and Point Pelee, Parks Canada. Over the course of the following three years an estimated 200,000 men worked in these camps. Although a dramatic event in Canadian history scant literature is available, either historically or archaeologically, on relief camps. This thesis is an attempt to address the lack of data, particularly archaeological, on this topic through an examination of a relief camp, Camp #9 (153N) in Prince Albert National Park.

Often lauded as the paragon of economic systems, fundamental insights into capitalism and individuals' places in it might best be accomplished through examination of when this system falters, as it did in the 1930s. By examining consumer choice, or what the men of Camp #9 chose to buy with their limited resources, insight into the social value of some commodities can be gauged. This thesis examines the role of agency in consumer choice and explores its social implications during the Depression in the context of a National Park relief camp. Three models are proposed that explore alcohol consumption at Camp #9 and help elucidate how the men of this relief camp actively shaped and responded to their experience of the Depression

I hope this work not only shows the value of archaeological investigation of relief camps but also of the 20<sup>th</sup> century as a whole while providing a necessary contribution to these particular fields of Canadian archaeology.

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## Table of Contents

Permission to Copy	i
Abstract	ii
Acknowledgements	iii
Table of Contents	v
List of Figures	ix
List of Tables	xi
Chapter 1: Introduction	1
1.1 <i>Background and Goals</i>	1
1.2 <i>Context of Study</i>	4
Chapter 2: Historical Overview of the Depression and Relief Camp	
Historiography, 1929-1940	7
2.1 <i>Historical Overview of the Depression</i>	7
2.1.1 “Black Thursday”: The Crash of the New York Stock Exchange	8
2.1.2 Drought in Saskatchewan	9
2.1.3 Initiation of the Relief Camps	11
2.1.4 Dissension in the Camps	18
2.1.5 The Vancouver Strike, On-To-Ottawa Trek and Regina Riot	21
2.2 <i>Relief Camp Historiography</i>	23
2.2.1 Traditional Approaches to Interpretation	23
2.2.2 Relief Camps: A Social History Perspective	27
2.2.3 Gaps in the Literature and Areas to Explore	29
Chapter 3: Archaeology of Relief Camps and Camp #9, Prince Albert National Park	34
3.1 <i>Archaeological Investigation of Relief Camps in Canada</i>	34
3.2 <i>Prince Albert National Park</i>	37
3.2.1 Location	37
3.2.2 Relief Camps in PANP	37
3.2.3 History of Investigation of PANP and Rediscovery of Camp #9	39
3.2.3.1 Archaeology	39
3.2.3.2 History	42
3.2.4 Camp #9	44
3.2.5 Environmental Setting	49

3.2.6 Human Use of PANP	51
Chapter 4: Excavation of Camp #9: Methods and Results	52
4.1 <i>Archaeological Investigation at Camp #9</i>	52
4.2 <i>Public Programming</i>	53
4.3 <i>Parks Canada Archaeological Methodology</i>	54
4.4 <i>Research Objectives Revisited</i>	56
4.4.1 Mapping of Camp #9	56
4.4.2 Testing of Features	57
4.4.3 Feature Description	58
4.5 <i>Operation Level Site Interpretation</i>	59
4.5.1 Operation 1: The Dining Hall and Kitchen	60
4.5.2 Operation 2: The Laundry/Bathing House	64
4.5.3 Operation 3: The Privy	64
4.5.4 Operation 4: The Dry Dump	66
4.5.5 Operation 5: The Wet Dump	67
4.5.6 Operation 6: The Blacksmith/Work Shop	69
4.5.7 Operation 7: Unknown Feature	71
4.5.8 Operation 8: The Southern Dump	72
Chapter 5: Artifact Analysis	73
5.1 <i>Classification of Artifacts: The Parks Canada System</i>	73
5.2 <i>Operation 1: The Dining Hall and Kitchen</i>	76
5.2.1 Animal Husbandry	76
5.2.2 Fauna	76
5.2.3 Hardware	77
5.2.4 Construction Nails	77
5.2.5 Hardware Fasteners	77
5.2.6 Structural Material	77
5.2.7 Illumination and Power	78
5.2.8 Household Cleaning and Maintenance	78
5.2.9 Clothing Fasteners	79
5.2.10 Unknown	79
5.3 <i>Operation 2: The Laundry/Bathing House</i>	80
5.3.1 Ammunition	80
5.3.2 Hardware	81
5.3.3 Construction Nails	81
5.3.4 Clothing Fasteners	81
5.3.5 Tobacco	82
5.3.6 Personal Medical	82
5.3.7 Unknown	83
5.4 <i>Operation 3: The Privy</i>	83
5.4.1 Food Storage	83
5.4.2 Fauna	84
5.4.3 Hardware Fasteners	84
5.4.4 Structural Material	84

5.4.5	Illumination and Power	85
5.4.6	Clothing	86
5.4.7	Clothing Fasteners	88
5.4.8	Stone Tool Manufacture	89
5.4.9	Unknown	89
5.5	<i>Operation 4: The Dry Dump</i>	90
5.5.1	Food Storage	90
5.5.2	Food Preparation	91
5.5.3	Food Serving	92
5.5.4	Structural Material	93
5.5.5	Illumination and Power	93
5.5.6	Clothing	94
5.5.7	Packing and Storing	94
5.5.8	Pocket Tools and Accessories	94
5.5.9	Tobacco	95
5.5.10	Alcohol	95
5.5.11	Sweets and Indulgences	95
5.5.12	Unknown	96
5.6	<i>Operation 5: The Wet Dump</i>	96
5.6.1	Food Storage	96
5.6.2	Food Preparation	96
5.6.3	Food Serving	97
5.6.4	Fauna	97
5.6.5	Flora	98
5.6.6	Alcohol	98
5.6.7	Tobacco	99
5.6.8	Unknown	99
5.7	<i>Operation 6: The Blacksmith/Work Shop</i>	100
5.7.1	Structural Material	100
5.7.2	Packing and Storing	100
5.7.3	Pocket Tools and Accessories	101
5.7.4	Tobacco	102
5.7.5	Personal Medical	103
5.7.6	Stone Tool Manufacture	103
5.8	<i>Operation 7: Unknown Feature</i>	104
5.8.1	Tobacco	104
5.9	<i>Operation 8: The Southern Dump</i>	104
5.9.1	Food Preparation	104
5.9.2	Packing and Storing	104
5.9.3	Alcohol	104
5.9.4	Sweets and Indulgences	105
Chapter 6:	Interpretations	107
6.1	<i>Site Dating</i>	107
6.2	<i>The Cabin</i>	109
6.3	<i>Site Preparation and Structural Consideration of Camp #9</i>	110

6.4 <i>Camp Conditions</i>	111
6.5 <i>Consumption</i>	113
6.6 <i>Consumption in the Context of the Depression</i>	116
6.7 <i>Alcohol Consumption in the Context of Camp #9</i>	117
6.7.1 <i>Alcohol as a Means of Socialization</i>	119
6.7.2 <i>Alcohol as a Coping Mechanism</i>	120
6.7.3 <i>Alcohol as Resistance</i>	122
Chapter 7: <i>Conclusion</i>	125
7.1 <i>Summary of Study</i>	125
7.1 <i>Evaluation and Suggestions for Future Research</i>	126
References Cited	129
Appendix A: <i>Transcripts of Letters</i>	143
Appendix B: <i>Distribution of Artifacts by Function and Operation at Camp #9</i>	166

## List of Figures

Figure 2.1 National Parks Containing Relief Camps	13
Figure 3.1 Map of Saskatchewan Showing PANP	38
Figure 3.2 Camp #3 PANP	39
Figure 3.3 Camp #2 PANP	40
Figure 3.4 Camp #4 PANP	40
Figure 3.5 Historic Activity Sites, PANP	43
Figure 3.6 Contour Map of South West Portion of Waskesiu Lake Showing Location of Camp #9	44
Figure 3.7 Camp #9 after Parr and Lunn	45
Figure 3.8 Camp #9 after LeDuc 2002	46
Figure 3.9 Two Buildings at Relief Camp in PANP (PANP Collection, 046-03 Permission by Waiser)	48
Figure 3.10 Inside of Kitchen And Dining Hall (Canadian Parks Service, Western Regional Office, Webster Collection, Permission by Waiser)	48
Figure 3.11 Map of PANP showing Waskesiu Hills	50
Figure 4.1 Parks Canada Provenience System Code	54
Figure 4.2 Cabin at Camp #9	58
Figure 4.3 Central Portion of Site Showing Excavated Suboperations	60
Figure 4.4 Profile of North Wall of 153N1B	62
Figure 4.5 Moss Growth Associated With Floorboards in Operation 1	63
Figure 4.6 Operations 4 and 5 Showing Location of Suboperations	69
Figure 4.7 Planview of 153N6D	71
Figure 5.1 Horseshoe Nail, <i>Lepus americanus</i> Remains, Wash Cloth	79
Figure 5.2 Pot Handle	80
Figure 5.3 22-Calibre Cartridges	81
Figure 5.4 Metal GWG Buttons	82
Figure 5.5 Twist Cap	83
Figure 5.6 Wood Lock and Diagram (after Glassie 1975)	85
Figure 5.7 Candle	86
Figure 5.8 Leather Boots	87
Figure 5.9 Rubber Boot Showing Repairs	87
Figure 5.10 Buttons, Belt Buckle and Zipper	89
Figure 5.11 Milk Can With Punctures	91
Figure 5.12 "B" top condiment can with US patent # on base	92
Figure 5.13 Cutlery (Left Group From Operation 4, Right From Operation 5)	93
Figure 5.14 Glass Lantern Chimney	94
Figure 5.15 Longbone (Insert) and Rib From Bovid Species Showing Butchering Marks	98

Figure 5.16	Bottle Caps, Showing Those From Red Wing Brewery in Prince Albert	99
Figure 5.17	Handles	101
Figure 5.18	Tools Made or Modified at Camp #9	102
Figure 5.19	Adhesive Plaster Cap	103
Figure 5.20	Selected Alcohol Bottles, Beer Bottle, Scotch Whisky, Whiskey, Wine(?)	105
Figure 5.21	Clear Bottle (Beer?), Applied Colour Label 1956 Prototype Pepsi Bottle, "1 FL OZ." Jar With Metal Screw Top, H.J. Heinz Ketchup Bottle.	106

## **List of Tables**

Table 2.1	Distribution of Men in Western Canadian National Parks Starting in Winter of 1930 Ending in Spring 1931	14
Table 2.2	Distribution of Men in Western Canadian National Parks Starting in Winter of 1931 Ending in Spring 1932	15
Table 2.3	Distribution of Men in Western Canadian National Parks by Year	16
Table 3.1	Relief Camps Currently Identified in Canada	36
Table 5.1	Analysis Class and Description	74
Table 5.2	Nail Distribution Table	106



## **Chapter 1**

### **Introduction**

#### *1.1 Background and Goals*

The subject of this thesis is the archaeological and historical investigation of a relief camp dating from the early to mid 1930s, the Depression era, in Prince Albert National Park (PANP). The undertaking of this project was the result of the intersection of both academic and personal interests that prompted me to attempt a better understanding of this period of Canada's history. Academically, the lack of material available on this topic provided an opportunity to potentially contribute a work of some significance. To add to many archaeologists credit an incomplete database as reason enough to engage in historical archaeological investigation.

The application of historical archaeology to traditionally historical issues for which there is simply inadequate documentation constitutes a valid and important focus in the field, and one that boasts the most successful contributions of historical archaeology to date (Deagan 1988:9).

Of equal value is the researcher's personal engagement with the material studied. Sunday dinner stories my grandfather told about growing up in the 1930s and

working on relief projects in southern Saskatchewan, to which I could not relate, added the personal meaning to the work I conducted. Through examining this period and the conditions these people lived through I hoped to gain some insight into a generation that might be best typified in their spending a day driving to stores throughout the city in their new car in order to save one dollar when purchasing the new food processor. It was also through one of these dinner stories that an opportunity to parallel this personal aspect for you, the reader, presented itself.

Through a network of acquaintances several times removed, news of my undertaking of this research resulted in an incredible opportunity. David Spence, to whom I owe a great deal of gratitude, purchased land along the Torch River in the 1970s. While examining the content of his new cabin David discovered 16 letters. Fifteen of the letters are written by Art White to Jack Linge, in all probability Art's neighbour. The 16<sup>th</sup> was written by Jack to Art but was presumably never sent. At the time of the writing of the first of these letters in 1933, Art had just turned 60 (letter, Art White to Jack Linge, December 14, 1933). Originally from Kent, England, Art eventually found residence in Saskatchewan and acquired a homestead on March 1, 1929 outside of Nipawin. Of particular interest is that he lied about his age on his homestead application - claiming to be only 48 (Saskatchewan Archives Board, Homestead File 5341506). This may be as a result of the fear of not being given the homestead at such an advanced age due to the belief that he might not meet the requirements for breaking the land. He farmed the section (SW18-53-15W2) accorded to him for only the next four years. Then, suffering from the effects of the Depression and informed that he would be unable to collect his pension from the Government for another ten years, Art was forced into the relief camps (letter, Art White to Jack Linge December 14, 1933). He spent time in camps in PANP in 1933, 1934, and 1936. In 1935 he worked in the Dundurn Camp, operated by the Department of National Defence (DND), south of Saskatoon. Art's letters address a variety of topics. Discussions of trying to get work, marriage, and his homestead provide insight into who this man was. Most importantly, for the purposes of this thesis, are the descriptions of the people, conditions, and work conducted in the camps. These descriptions not only helped to identify structures at the site investigated for my research, Camp #9, but also added a

highly personal dimension, which is often a rarity in this kind of research. Transcripts of these letters are provided in Appendix 1.

As will become apparent in the following chapter the topic of the Depression, and specifically relief camps, is one that is largely neglected in academia. Only a small group of people has contributed to an understanding of this phenomenon, almost all of whom are historians. Archaeologically this topic is virtually absent. This is unfortunate since archaeology, through an examination of the apparently mundane material remains, is better equipped than history to assess day-to-day activities. A combination of both history and archaeology results in a more complete picture of relief camps as political, economic and social entities.

The ultimate goal of this project is an examination of the social conditions at Camp #9 with an emphasis on how the men of the camp attempted to improve the conditions in which they lived. Instrumental to this examination is an assessment of consumption behaviour. While working in relief camps the men were given a nominal allowance by the government. This income, albeit small, permitted the purchasing of goods. By examining the goods purchased and assessing the social role these items played the extent to which the men shaped the reality of their experiences in the camps can be gauged.

In addition to the more theoretical aspect, this study incorporates several other goals which evolved during the investigation. Because of the currently poor state of primary documentation available on most relief camps a tremendous amount of confusion exists regarding the actual identity of Camp #9. Parks Canada records, for example, identified it as prehistoric, historic, lumber camp or relief camp or possibly all of the above. The first goal of the investigation of Camp #9 was to establish what exactly the archaeological remains represented. This was accomplished through an analysis of the artifacts recovered and features examined. The delineation of the site and its composition in terms of both size and number of structures present was the second goal and was accomplished by the mapping of the site itself to supplement or correct previous work. Third, is an attempt to mitigate some of the impact incurred by the collection of artifacts by tourists due to the relatively accessible nature of the site and its presence within the PANP trail guide. Not only will artifact sampling protect

against the illicit collection but preserve the delicate nature of some of the materials for future interpretive purposes. Crests, logos and advertising on some of the artifacts are in a state of degradation and, within a few more years without conservation, will be entirely illegible. The collection of artifacts with these attributes allows for greater analysis.

## 1.2 *Context of Study*

When the Great Depression hit Canada in the 1930s the government and, indeed, the Canadian population itself, were completely unprepared. After emerging from the Great War scathed but with a new sense of identity, Canada entered the roaring Twenties – a decade that promised no end to technological or economic development. The world, at least the developing one, entered a new era of prosperity.

At the end of 1929 this illusion shattered. The New York Stock Exchange crashed, nations raised high protective tariffs, and, on the Prairies, a nearly decade long drought hit. The combination of these factors caused economic turmoil resulting in the loss of both personal fortunes and modest savings and forcing countless numbers of men into unemployment. Until the 1930s, industrializing nations had never dealt with unemployment on such a massive scale. As the lines at soup kitchens grew and an increasing number of men took to the rails in a search for jobs the Canadian government finally acted and created a work camp program in 1930. The camps operated through two governmental departments: the DND and the National Parks. In some form or another these camps operated for nearly a decade. At the height of the program, between 1932 and 1935, an estimated 200, 000 men were employed within the camps (MacPherson 1987:plate 42). Although treated as one entity, the camps are, in fact, two separate yet similar initiatives attempting to address the issue of unemployment in Canada.

The following chapter provides an historical framework of the Depression. Discussion of the New York Stock Exchange crash of 1929 and the drought on the prairies are presented to establish the economic and environmental conditions that resulted in unprecedented unemployment in Canada. The events surrounding the establishment of the relief camp programs in the National Parks and by the DND is

discussed followed by an account of the disbanding of the program in 1935 after political unrest and a federal election prompted a new government to reconsider the methods of supporting the unemployed. The second portion of this chapter examines the historiography of the Depression, focusing on relief camps. Highlighted is the general trend within the literature to, until more recently, treat National Park and DND relief camps as identical programs. Finally, a brief discussion of potentially fruitful avenues of future research is provided.

Chapter 3 examines the history of archaeological investigation of relief camps in Canada. This is followed by an introduction to the PANP area with a description of Camp #9. Subsequent to this is an introduction to the local environment, including climate, geography and plant and animal life.

Chapter 4 reviews the methods and results of excavation of Camp #9 during the 2001 field season. The following chapter provides an analysis of the recovered artifacts, including faunal remains and an intrasite comparison of artifact assists in the identification of the various structures tested.

Chapter 6 examines the evidence for previous use of the site during the historic period followed by a summary of the evidence for the site's use as a relief camp. An examination of the social aspects of Camp #9 is provided after its establishment as a relief camp. The framework for an interpretation of the role of consumption at Camp #9 is precedes discussion of the role of alcohol on site during the Depression. The analysis of alcohol consumption is provided in order to hypothesis as to how the men of the camp might actively shape their environment and themselves and how, in a broader context, authority could be resisted.

Chapter 7 summarises the findings and concludes with a discussion as to the success of the research process in terms of the goals established at the outset of this project. Addition, there is an examination of some of the shortcoming of this endeavour. Finally, the need for further study of this neglected area of Canada's history and archaeology is highlighted and appeal for more research made.

A diversity of sources and various perspectives are used in working towards the goal of social reconstruction of Camp #9. Sometimes reading as a labour of history and at others one of archaeology with the inclusion of elements of sociology, cultural

anthropology or psychology, the multidisciplinary nature of this thesis will become apparent. For it is only upon drawing from as many of the social sciences as possible that a comprehensive understanding of the social aspects of this period of Canada's history can even be attempted. The desire to enslave ourselves to the confines of a particular discipline is understandable because it often makes research less risky by sticking to what we know but as Kathleen Deagan points out this can often lead to unproductive research (Deagan 1988:8). Significant contributions to the understanding of who we are as people and insight into our history requires stepping beyond the familiar confines of individual disciplines to draw upon the work of others from allied fields. In doing so we may have a greater risk of being incorrect but we also increase the opportunity for understanding.

## **Chapter 2**

### **Historical Overview of the Depression and Relief Camp Historiography, 1929-1940**

#### *2.1 Historical Overview of the Depression*

Outside of the World Wars, one of the most influential events of the twentieth century was the Great Depression. The unfortunate combination of industrial overproduction contributing to the stock market crash in October of 1929, turn of the century agrarian practices, and climatic changes culminated in an economic crisis which dramatically altered the social, political, and economic composition of Canada. Almost 70 years later there is still discussion as to the impact, and even the origin, of the events of that decade. A tremendous amount of literature exists dedicated to the Depression. Much of it is economic or political analysis of this era. Some of it details the impact on the people, and a portion of it might best be described as narrative self-reflection - the author's attempt to understand what it was that (s)he went through. Undisputed, however, is the fact that this decade not only dramatically shaped a generation but has also influenced a nation.

### 2.1.1 “Black Thursday”: The Crash of the New York Stock Exchange

Maybe it was possible that a perceptive eye could have foreseen the impending disaster. The European and American markets were on shaky ground due to rampant overproduction. Industry produced goods at a rate faster than the international market could absorb. Warehouses filled with only limited prospects of selling commodities but companies' stock continued to rise. In 1929, with that summer's harvest just beginning, Canada was still attempting to sell its staple product, wheat, from the previous year. Finally, on October 24, 1929 known also as “Black Thursday,” the New York Stock Exchange crashed.

The crash itself was a weeks-long process involving what some have described as akin to an near orgiastic speculation completely withdrawn from the monetary reality of the times (see Kindleberger 1975:106 and Wigmore 1985:7). These events had global repercussions, resulting in the collapse of financial institutions around the world. A rapid withdrawal of money by corporations and individuals from the New York Stock Exchange caused substantial losses to investors. Almost overnight, millions of dollars effectively evaporated as stock readjusted or depreciated. This had a cascade effect. Money became unavailable for industrial production, imports, and loans. The unavailability of loans resulted in individuals forfeiting on mortgages because of lack of funds. Massive numbers of foreclosures occurred, dramatically reducing house and property value. Rapid deflation ensued and, in an initial attempt to generate income, the United States increased exports. This resulted in a glut on the international market and a further devaluing of commodities (Kindleberger 1975:125). Prevailing economic philosophy mandated an imposition of high protective tariffs to mediate the effects of the crash on Canadian industry. The tariffs intended to protect and bolster national markets by encouraging the buying of goods produced domestically. This policy ultimately drove prices higher making purchasing of commodities difficult. This effectively choked industry and individuals who could no longer afford international goods. With an economy dependant upon export, Canada was hit particularly hard.

Not only can the losses be measured monetarily but also in human lives. A rash of suicides and heart attacks by investors who lost small fortunes occurred. Newspapers carried stories of speculators swallowing poison, shooting themselves, or gruesomely



emulating their fortunes by leaping from windows and plummeting to their deaths (Klingaman 1989:xiv). The veracity of these events remains uncertain, however, and some authors attempt to show that suicide rates were only marginally above average in New York at this time (see Galbraith 1961:135 or Fetherling 1979:5). Regardless of the reality of the suicides, be they a mythologizing of the impact of the crash or not, both views are illustrative of the degree to which this event is engrained within the Canadian psyche.

Ultimately, however, the average Canadian was hardest hit by the economic collapse. Save for the dust storms on the prairies, one of the most emblematic phenomena of the Depression was the Bennett Buggy, a derisive term named after Canadian Prime Minister Richard Bedford Bennett. No longer able to afford gas, those people who owned cars hitched them to horses. In many respects this is likely the most symbolic image of the Depression for many Canadians today although it hardly represents the degree of destitution many people experienced at the time. As a result of the sweeping unemployment and lack of relief numerous Canadians wrote letters to Bennett beseeching him for money, jobs and a solution to the economic crisis. Families requested money to provide food and clothes for their children, jobs for themselves or money to pay off loans (see Bliss 1973). In some cases Bennett replied with a few dollars.

There does not yet exist any consensus as to the role the stock market crash played in the Depression. Some have credited Black Thursday as causing the Great Depression, being a product of it, being inconveniently coincidental or even being used as a scapegoat to explain a decade of upheaval, the origin of which was not fully understood (Sobel 1988:351). Regardless of whether the stock market crash was a precursor, product, or coincidence of the Depression, it acted to intensify the poor economic conditions of the following decade.

### **2.1.2 Drought in Saskatchewan**

Although the Depression was a global phenomenon, various geographical regions were influenced by local conditions. In Saskatchewan, the surplus of grain from the 1928 harvest probably would have been economically weathered had the stock

market not crashed. Unfortunately, shortly after 1929, the prairies were struck by drought. Hardest hit was that region of the plains bounded by the north branch of the Saskatchewan River and the 49<sup>th</sup> parallel and between southwestern Manitoba and the Rocky Mountains. Encompassing the majority of the southwest corner of Saskatchewan, with Swift Current at the approximate centre, this region is also known as the Palliser Triangle. Shortly after the turn of the century this area became an appealing location for settlement because of the comparative ease in breaking the land for cultivation and the soil fertility. In 1915, this region produced nearly twice the crop ever produced in Canada until that time - a record that stood until the 1950s (Anderson 1975:7). The productivity of the land resulted in an influx into the region by settlers and a dramatic increase in the amount of land converted for agricultural purposes. As a result of the farming practices employed at the time, disaster was inevitable. The combination of low precipitation and the practice of leaving soil exposed and burning stubble resulted in the stripping of moisture by the dry winds. The combination of several successive dry seasons and low wheat prices resulted in an exodus from the region as the return on successively smaller amounts of wheat dropped below the cost of its production. As winds picked up, the soil desiccated and began drifting. The Palliser Triangle became a desert. In 1933, grasshoppers plagued the region, annihilating the harvest. Two years later, rust blight did the same (Anderson 1975:10). Each year, environmental conditions oscillated in such a way that wheat crops and cattle were destroyed for nearly a decade. Internationally, as the Depression began to abate somewhat in the late 1930s, the drought climaxed. Swift Current set a century record low in 1937 at 211.0 mm of precipitation that year (the century average being 379.4 mm/year). Also, on July 5, 1937, Regina experienced a record temperature high of 43.3°C (Fung 1999:104, 119). Not until 1941 did temperature and precipitation finally normalize (Nemanishen 1998:10). The drought drove people off the farms either to try again at the fringe of the boreal forest or into the cities where municipalities did what they could to accommodate those in need.

### 2.1.3 Initiation of the Relief Camps

An ever-increasing number of men and women began leaving the farms, either to move to more northern latitudes to try again, or to enter the cities to seek relief. Without support from farmers, eastern Canadian industries suffered even more, necessitating reductions in the work force. Desperation began mounting throughout the country. Municipalities did what they could to provide food and shelter, but by 1932, with nearly 70,000 single unemployed homeless men in Canada, the task was overwhelming. In Saskatoon, joint municipal and provincial relief projects, partially supported by the federal government, were instituted. Make-work projects, such as the Bessborough Hotel, Broadway Bridge, and the weir provided meagre wages for limited employment (Kerr and Hanson 1982:295). The weir was also an attempt to combat the effects of the drought in the Saskatoon area by raising water level enough to allow for irrigation. These were, however, only stopgap measures. The projects emptied municipal and provincial coffers and could only support an ever-decreasing fraction of the unemployed. Restrictions grew as to who qualified to participate in the relief projects. Initially including unemployed single men, the projects eventually evolved to include only men having two or more dependants (Kerr and Hanson 1982:295). The mass of men who no longer qualified began the search for employment elsewhere and took to the rails.

As the hoard of unemployed traversed the nation in search of jobs and relief, tensions mounted. Fear that a revolt might occur became widespread and increased pressure was placed on the Conservative government under Prime Minister R. B. Bennett to, if not resolve the problem of unemployment, at least get the men out of the cities. This problem was compounded by the perceived Communist menace that threatened to unite the unemployed. After touring municipal relief facilities to examine the plight of the unemployed, Chief of Defence Staff Major-General Andrew McNaughton offered a solution. He proposed to open work camps under the administration of the Department of National Defence (DND). In exchange for food, clothing, and shelter McNaughton intended to use the men to modernize and upgrade Canada's defences (MacDowell 1995:208). In the process, he also hoped to increase the morale of the unemployed by providing jobs and groom the next generation of men

from whom Canada's new pool of soldiers would be drawn. The unemployed were put to work. In the process of upgrading and expanding Canada's defence infrastructure, the men laboured to build new roads, aerodromes, landing fields, air stations, barracks, and training camps. To provide the maximum labour return for jobs, men worked with the most basic of implements. Graders, bulldozers, and other mechanical labour-saving devices were abandoned for pick axes and shovels. This approach was adopted in the camps within the National Parks as well. Those relief camps operated by the DND made use of nearly ten times the number of unemployed men than did those operated by the National Parks. At most the National Parks could have utilised an approximated 20,000 men from 1931-1936 whereas nearly 170,000 men were present in the DND camps, during the same period (MacPherson 1987:plate 42).

The development of the relief camps in the National Parks slightly predates those established by the DND. Hoping to make the best of the situation, Parks Canada Commissioner James B. Harkin, in 1930, attempted to avail himself of the opportunity the Depression might present. Pragmatic enough to realise the likelihood of cuts to his department's budget by the Bennett Government, Harkin accumulated a list of work projects that could be used both to alleviate the strain on municipalities by the unemployed and to undertake major infrastructure development and expansion in the western Canadian National Parks (see Figure 2.1).

These projects would run over the winter months, potentially employing 2,500 hundred men and costing well over half a million dollars (Waiser 1995:48). Bennett rejected Harkin's proposal to provide direct federal relief, citing municipal responsibility for the unemployed. Falling under federal jurisdiction, the Parks Department could not acquire funding under the terms of the Unemployment Relief Act, 1930 (see Acts of the Parliament of the Dominion of Canada, First Session of the Seventeenth Parliament 1930:1). Harkin turned to the provincial governments with his proposal and was allotted a portion of the funds dispersed by the federal government. In the fall of 1930 the first relief camps opened in the western national parks. Relief

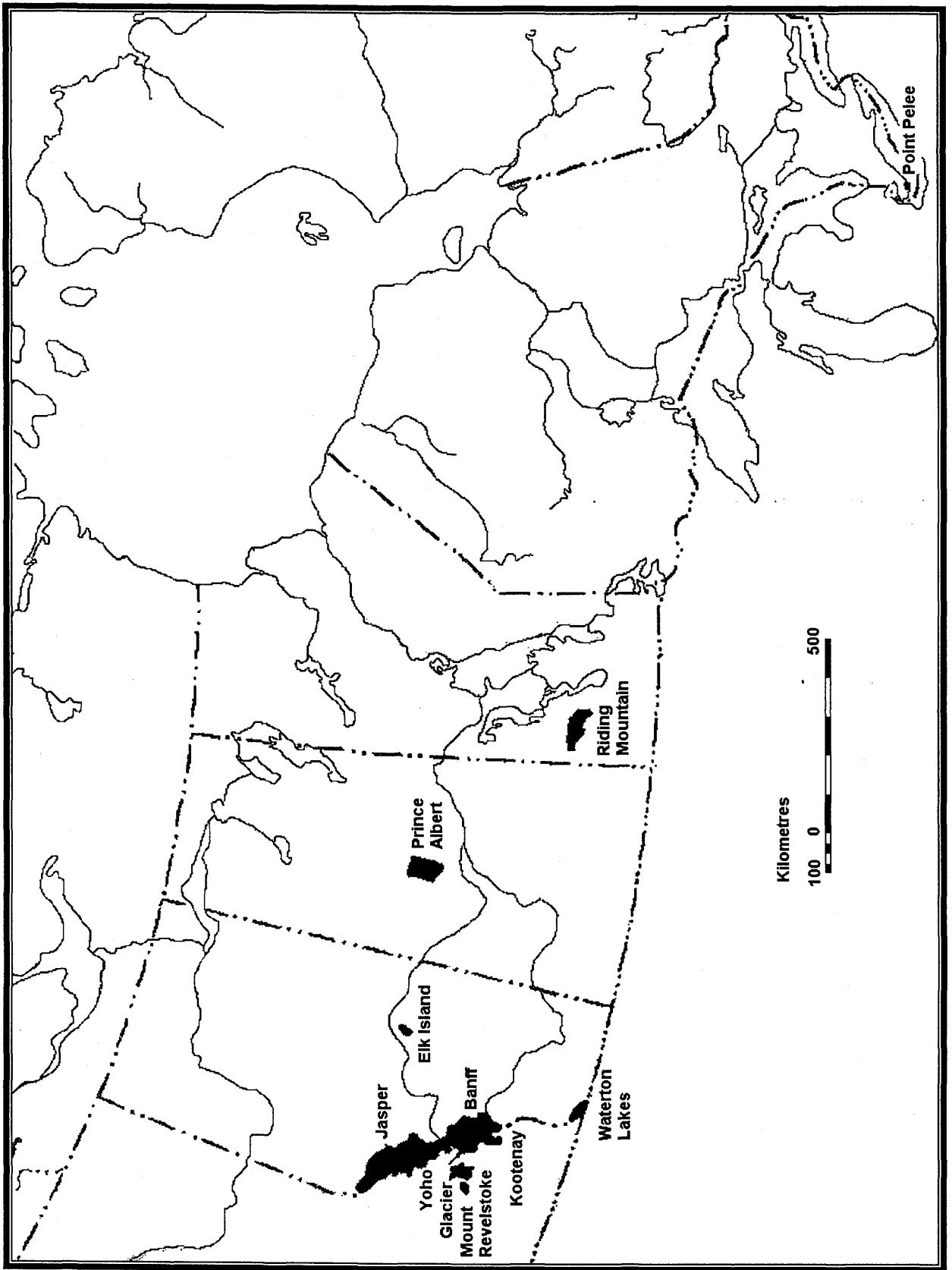


Figure 2.1 National Parks Containing Relief Camps (adapted from Lothian 1977)

camps appeared in Banff, Jasper, Waterton Lakes, Prince Albert National Park (PANP), and Riding Mountain. Initially undertaken on a small scale (see Table 2.1), the opening of these camps heralded the beginning of a relief program that, in subsequent years, expanded to include thousands of men.

**Table 2.1: Distribution of Men in Western Canadian National Parks Starting in Winter of 1930 ending in Spring 1931\***

<b>National Park</b>	<b>Number of Men Employed</b>
Banff	242
Jasper	186
Waterton Lakes	35
Prince Albert National Park	(data unavailable)
Riding Mountain	346
<b>Total</b>	<b>809</b>

\*Table adapted from the Annual Report of the Department of the Interior (ARDI) for the fiscal year ending in March 31, 1931, p. 95.

Originally, the men who occupied these camps were drawn largely from the non-transient unemployed local population with most being married and having dependants. Not until the subsequent year did large portions of unemployed transient men (defined as single and homeless) populate the Park camps (ARDI 1932:70, see Table 2.1). The major tasks of the men in the camps were the construction of new roads, and the building and maintenance of bridges, wharves, trails and cabins. In PANP, the duties extended to include the clearing of deadfall for a distance of approximately 50 km along Highway 263 and nearly 125 km along the park's boundary (ARDI 1931:95).

In 1932, with no end in sight to the Depression, the relief camp program expanded in regard to both the number of men entering the camps and the number of National Parks utilised for relief purposes. The expanded program included five new locations: Kootenay, Yoho, and Elk Island National Parks, in addition to the Banff-

Jasper Highway and the Golden-Revelstoke (Big Bend) Highway (see Table 2.2). In this year, transient men composed over half of the camp populations.

**Table 2.2: Distribution of Men in Western Canadian National Parks Starting in Winter of 1931 ending in Spring 1932\***

<b>National Park</b>	<b>Number of Men**</b>
Banff	375
Jasper	280
Kootenay	119
Yoho	99
Waterton	209
Elk Island	196
Prince Albert	378
Riding Mountain	1809
Banff-Jasper Highway	690
Golden-Revelstoke Highway	199
<b>Total</b>	<b>4354</b>

\*Table adapted from the Annual Report of the Department of the Interior (ARDI) for the fiscal year ending in March 31, 1932 p. 70.

\*\*local married men and transients are considered together.

In 1932, changes in governmental policy in response to the increasing number of unemployed men requiring relief resulted in the providing of direct federal assistance to the National Parks. This occurred in conjunction with the programs operated by the DND and is considered, by some, as the official beginning of the relief camp program. The following years saw a steady increase in the number of men entering the parks (see Table 2.3) until political unrest, in 1935, largely in the camps operated by the DND, resulted in a severe curtailing of the program. Camps outside of the National Parks ceased functioning that year but those within the parks continued in some form until 1939.

**Table 2.3: Distribution of Men in Western Canadian National Parks by Year\***

National Park	Number of Men Employed for Period Beginning in Winter of ...				
	1932**	1933**	1934***	1935	1936
Banff	449	920	-	231	423
Jasper	588	1230	-		
Waterton	135	635	-		
Yoho	9	15	-		
Kootenay	-	99	-	-	-
Elk Island	212	561	-	-	-
Prince Albert	1460	2096	-	1013	407
Riding Mountain	2051	2813	936	-	-
Point Pelee	210	-	-	-	-
Banff-Jasper Highway	1791	1435	-	-	-
Golden-Revelstoke Highway	-	402	-	-	-
<b>Total</b>	<b>6905</b>	<b>10 206</b>	<b>6387</b>	<b>1244</b>	<b>830</b>

\*Table compiled from the Annual Report of the Department of the Interior (ARDI) for the fiscal years ending in March 31, 1933 through March 31, 1936

\*\*Due to changes in reporting methodology employed in the ARDI approximate numbers of men in the camps are provided. The approximate number of men is derived by calculating the mean number of work days reported in the 1932 ARDI (63.7) for all camps. The mean number of work days is then used to divide the number of Man-days of Relief reported in subsequent ARDIs to determine the number of men in the camps. The number of men derived from this formula is rounded to the nearest whole number. Local married men and transients are considered together.

\*\*\*Due to changes in reporting methodology employed in the ARDI neither the number of individuals nor the number of Man-days of Relief are provided. Number of men in Riding Mountain and total are provided. For a monthly breakdown of total number of men in camps see ARDI 1935:92.

A prevailing misconception in this area of Canadian history is the view that the camps were, from an administrative perspective, a single unit. This misconception is propagated within historical literature through a general lack of clarification of terms employed by authors and a lack of distinction in primary sources. Historian Bill Waiser



is one of the few authors to make the distinction between the camps employed in the National Parks – relief camps for married men with dependants and transient camps for single unemployed men. In reality the camps operating during the Depression fall into three categories: one, those camps operated by the DND for unemployed men; two, camps operating in the National Parks for married men with dependants and residents of the parks or outlying areas; and three, camps operating in the National Parks for unemployed transient men.

The camps for dependants and residents operated predominantly in the Rocky Mountains at Banff and Jasper and, on a smaller scale, in Yoho, Waterton Lakes, and Prince Albert National Parks. These camps were the first to open in the fall of 1930 and the last to close, specifically Banff, in the spring of 1940 (ARDI 1931:95 and RDMR 1940:80). Unlike the men in the transient camps, the married men with dependants were paid a salary, roughly in the order of two dollars per day (ARDI 1934:68).

The second type of camp operating in the National Parks was the camp intended for housing transient men. These camps first commenced operation in the fall of 1931. Camp composition in the 1931-1932 season was such that the transient men represented about 60% of those supported in the National Parks. By winter of 1932, transient men represented the bulk of the population within the camps with Riding Mountain National Park the most heavily utilised for this type of relief effort. The use of transient men in the camps spanned the years 1931-1935, when the use of the parks for this purpose was generally discontinued. PANP is anomalous in that after the discontinuance of the program in 1935, in April and May of the following year, 407 men were transferred from the relief project operated by the DND in Dundurn, Saskatchewan to work once again in the camps (ARDI 1937:76). The men in these camps laboured over the winter months at various tasks. They built roads, cleared brush, grubbed ditches, and constructed buildings in exchange for food, shelter, clothing, and five dollars per month (Waiser 1995:90). The degree, or even presence, of segregation between the married and transient men in the camps is unclear.

#### 2.1.4 Dissension in the Camps

Although the relief camps seemed an adequate solution to the problem of unemployment, they were fraught with difficulties. It is important to point out, however, that the level of dissension within the camps differed between those operated in the National Parks and in those operated by the DND. The National Park experiences were, on the whole, better than those projects in operation outside of them. The quality of food and food preparation was generally superior within the parks as were the living conditions. As Art White, a relief camps worker from PANP, wrote Jack Linge on February 16, 1936 after returning to the PANP camp, “we sure are getting the best of eats, everything a fellow could wish for, and real good clothes, I have enough to start a store with!” (letter, Art White to Jack Linge, February 16, 1936). This compares with a letter sent the preceding May from the DND camp in Dundurn closing with, “Good bye – I think it is Beans for supper tonight and tea Spoon of Jam – No Meat – its[sic] supper anyway” (letter, Art White to Jack Linge, April 18, 1935). Also, a greater sense of value was placed on the work conducted in the parks. Storm drains, expanded camp grounds, hot springs, and other buildings were built with the intent for the use of the rest of the Canadian population. A new hot springs building in Banff or golf course in PANP had a perceptively higher value for the relief workers than airfields in northern Ontario. The greater value placed on these efforts resulted in fewer problems in the National Park camps. Although there was some unrest, generally the park experience was more satisfactory than that of working in the DND projects. The difference in experience and manner in which the camps operated later proved a contentious issue between Commissioner Harkin and Maj.-Gen. MacNaughton and in 1933 the two met in an attempt to bring the camps under a uniform set of administrative rules. The meeting was a failure and the only thing agreed upon was to provide camp workers 20¢ per day allowance (Waiser 1995:102). Ultimately, however, it was the poor conditions in the DND camps that eventually prompted the actions that led to the termination of the program.

Pre-eminent among the list of the men’s complaints in the DND camps was the lack of recreational facilities, radios and static magazine and book collections (Commission on Relief Camps in British Columbia ([CRCBC] 1935:13). These

complaints were compounded by the isolated nature of the camps that, in the winter, had effectively no contact with the outside world. These conditions propagated the notion of relief camp workers as “forgotten men” (CRCBC 1935:12). Relegated to remote locations made attempts to find work impossible because of the difficulty getting to locations where employment may be possible.

Another major source of contention was the 20¢ allowance per day paid to the workers. This proved particularly demeaning in light of the standard wages the camp support staff received. Doctors, foremen, and other staff received standard wages for their employment while those engaging in manual labour received only their allowance. From the Dundurn camp on November 6, 1935 Art wrote:

I am working in one of the kitchens here, dishing up the soup. There are 5 kitchens each feeding 550 men each – 2750 Men to feed at present, and they are still coming in – I have to work at least 8 to 9 Hrs per Day for my lousy 20 cents (letter, Art White to Jack Linge, November 6, 1935).

The disparity in purchasing power that developed in the DND camps resulted in friction and animosity between the foremen and working men. In contrast, Art seems to have had a good relationship with the supervisors in the National Park camps. The men used them as a resource to relay rumours of jobs and the goings-on in the world outside the camps.

Additionally, the manner in which the DND permitted entry and exit from the camps also resulted in friction. Men wishing to leave the camps would only be permitted re-entry if they could provide a letter indicating that their original reason for leaving was because of an employment offer. Letters written by Art while in the Dundurn Camp illustrate this. In his exchanges with Jack of April and May 1935, Art asks Jack to either “front him” a letter or get another individual to do so. A letter would allow Art to leave the camp and be given a ticket back to Prince Albert at a reduced rate. Leaving for any other reason would result in not being able to re-enter the camp. Although this was official policy, in reality individuals simply changed their names and entered a different camp to evade it. Attempts would be made to leave camp in order to

find work and, when no work was available, men would return to a camp under an assumed name.

Not everyone suffered during the Depression. With a massive surplus of potential labour, employers were given the power to be exploitative. Men were required to work according to the employer's dictates or they would be replaced.

Consider Art's experience:

I went out a few days on the Railroad but I got with a Foreman who did not know me, and he just worked the ass right off me[.] after 6 days I was all in and had to quit[.] Much younger Men than me did the same (letter, Art White to Jack Linge, Oct 10, 1935).

The regulations regarding entry and exit from the camps have particularly grim implications in the context of the 1935 election. By effectively forcing the men to remain in the camps, "stay or starve" as Historian Pierre Berton (1990:159) puts it, Bennett forced a large portion of the camp population into disenfranchisement. Combined with the residency requirements of most municipalities that mandated an individual to live in a town for up to six months before collecting relief, leaving the camps was a highly risky prospect (MacDowell 1995:208). As the 1935 election approached, the men of the camps had to make the choice of returning home to vote, thus abdicating relief privileges, or remaining in the camps. This issue did not arise as a result of growing unrest in the DND camps in British Columbia that led to civil disturbances and an attempt by relief camp workers to take their complaints to Bennett directly (also known as the On-To-Ottawa Trek and Regina Riot). It was, however, one effective way for Bennett to attempt to maintain power.

Finally, the psychological impact of the camps' entry/exit policy was dramatic. Relegated to the fringes of society, some workers felt as though Canada had turned its back on them. The prevailing attitude towards relief was that anyone requiring it was inherently lazy. The conception was that work was available to those who wanted it. Canada had not yet adjusted to an industrial economy and pre-industrial notions of employment held sway. This carried a profound stigma, making asking for relief incredibly difficult. Combined with the societal expectation of men, the impact was profound. In an era of strictly defined gender roles, the man's inability to fulfill

expectations ascribed to the male gender identity was extremely demoralizing (Parr 1990:199). Unable to find work and incapable of fulfill their role as provider they were failures as men. This is especially true of those wishing to marry. By not being employed the possibility of attracting a wife was more challenging as a result of the perception that the man was unable to provide an economically stable household for a wife and children.

As conditions deteriorated, the incidence of unrest increased. By 1935 359-recorded incidents of strike, riots, demonstration, and disturbances occurred within the DND Camps (MacDowell 1995:220). Finally, in 1935, frustrations reached a point where mass action was undertaken. The DND camps in British Columbia struck and, at the beginning of April 1935, several hundred men descended on Vancouver, B.C. to protest camp conditions.

#### **2.1.5 The Vancouver Strike, On-To-Ottawa Trek and Regina Riot**

Over the course of weeks, camp men poured into Vancouver. By mid-April approximately 1500 men were in Vancouver demanding wages, better medical care, new clothes, and a permanent solution to the problems of unemployment. For nearly two months the men occupied the streets of Vancouver, performing sit-ins, speeches, and demonstrations in an attempt to force the government to address the problems of the camps. By the end of May, with their demands still unacknowledged, the strike began to break down. Public opinion started turning against the men and a new course of action was deemed necessary in order to force the government to listen and address their demands. It was proposed that the strikers relocate to Ottawa to confront Bennett directly. On June 3, over a thousand men boarded a train and began the process of making their way to Ottawa. The On-to-Ottawa Trek was born.

As the convoy moved east the number of strikers grew. At stops in Calgary and Swift Current the men met with public support, washed, ate, slept a little, and boarded the train for the continuation of their journey. Apprehensive of the prospect of the strikers appearing in Ottawa Bennett instructed the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) to halt the Trek in Regina. On 14 June 1935, the train pulled in to Regina with nearly two thousand men aboard. The Trek was scheduled to remain in Regina for five

days where the trekkers planned on holding protests, picnics, and rallies. Bennett attempted to diffuse the situation by offering to meet with the Trek's leaders to discuss the strikers' demands. These leaders continued on to Ottawa but the talks were in vain. Bennett's sole intent was to delay the Trek. He endeavoured to use time against the Trek forcing it to remain in Regina for as long as possible in an effort to dampen the motivation to continue. Frustrated, the leaders returned to Regina on June 26. Over the course of the next several days confusion and disappointment reigned in the city. Bennett achieved his goal.

In the effort to end the Trek, Bennett persuaded the presidents of the Canadian National Railway (CNR) and Canadian Pacific Railway (CPR) to withdraw their support thus cutting off the easiest and most efficient means to move the strikers to Ottawa. In doing so Bennett not only reduced the likelihood of the Trek arriving in Ottawa successfully but he manipulated the situation to gain more direct control. By having the presidents of the CNR and CPR charge the Trekkers with trespassing, Bennett could then invoke the Railway Act, placing the RCMP, formerly subject to provincial authority, under direct federal control (Berton 1990:319).

With the train no longer available as a means to reach Ottawa the Trekkers attempted to organise other vehicles for that purpose. They had limited success. On July 1, a public rally was held in a last attempt to garner funds for the strikers in Regina's Market Square. While the rally was underway, nearly 150 police and RCMP surrounded the square, acting on pressure by the Bennett government to arrest the leaders and disperse the strikers and supporting Regina residents, which included women and children. At a given signal, the combined police and RCMP force charged the ralliers. Initial panic was quickly replaced by anger, and the ralliers fought back, throwing rocks, wood, and chunks of cement at the police. Tear-gas bombs were hurled into the crowd in an attempt to regain control. In the ensuing riot one police officer was beaten to death. RCMP efforts to control the riot escalated resulting in the firing of several shots into the air and directly into the crowd in an attempt to disperse it (Howard 1986:155). One bystander ended up in the hospital as a result of a bullet passing through his abdomen, barely missing his spine. A contingent from the DND camp at

Dundurn participated in the riot but no evidence exists for participants from the National Park camps.

These actions resulted from the experiences of those in the DND camps, a fact which historians have downplayed or ignored. Bennett's mismanagement of these events and inability to deal with the problem of unemployment contributed to the crushing defeat of the Conservative Party in the elections that took place three months after the Regina Riot. In the end, however, it was not as a result of any new economic or social policy enacted by the new Liberal government under Mackenzie King that put an end to the economic crisis brought on by the Depression but the declaration of war on Germany on September 8, 1939. A peaceful solution to the crisis of 1930s was never found. Salvation was in the initiation of the war-time economy.

## 2.2 *Relief Camp Historiography*

### 2.2.1 **Traditional Approaches to Interpretation**

Little literature directly relates to relief camps in the National Parks. Much of the literature does not often make the distinction between those camps operated by the National Parks and those operated by the DND. As such, examination of the topic requires the assessment of paragraphs, pages, and portions of chapters from disparate sources in the attempt to synthesize this topic's historiography.

One of the earliest contributions to historical literature discussing relief camps is James Gray's *The Winter Years: The Depression on the Prairies* (1966). Having lived through the Depression and worked on relief projects, Gray's descriptions of the events of this period are written as a personal narrative. Whole sections of the book read as a novel with Gray describing what people thought and regaling the reader with entire conversations provided in quotations (see Gray 1966:39-47). From a contemporary analytical viewpoint the book has little to offer other than one man's account of his experience in the camps and in many respects should be considered a primary source from which to draw interpretation. Gray romanticizes and homogenises camp workers. In describing camp conditions and attempts at labour organisation, the author conveys the impression that the workers were in control. Opting to describe the relief camps as "slave camps" (Gray 1966:36) and apparently incompetent camp supervisors as "spit-

and-polish sergent[sic]-major-type straw-bosses,” (Gray 1966:148), Gray depicts the camps as become a focus for building of solidarity between the men. In his discussion of the On-to-Ottawa Trek, Gray comments, “in those bunkhouses, there were more men reading Marx, Lenin, and Stalin, than there were reading girly magazines,” (Gray 1966:39). Given the fears of Communism, which he discusses later, and the fact that the Salvation Army and other charity organisations provided reading material to the camp (CRCBC 1935:13), Gray’s comment seems to be designed towards establishing the camp workers as an unemployed intelligentsia fallen upon difficult times as opposed to the heterogeneous group the workers actually represented. Gray also comments:

It seemed that everyone realised the necessity to fight for the abolition of the slave camps, and the institutions of work programs at real wages, and it very early became quite obvious that each man must have made a personal resolution never to submit to such a life (Gray 1966:38).

Although problems existed within the camps, camp workers did not universally uphold this attitude. The letters of Art White describe problems in the Dundurn camp but in his description of them he never personally involves himself. In deed he looks to the camp supervisors as allies, a potential resource for locating jobs and for information as to the events outside of the camp.

Gray periodically contradicts himself in his narrative. When the issue of the “pervasive Communist threat” is dealt with, the camp supervisors become the model of efficiency at rooting out agitators: “the strict military security resulted in agitators being quickly unmasked and expelled” (Gray 1966:149). Gray simultaneously has the bulk of camp workers acting as a collective and reading socialist and communist literature under the supervision of oblivious camp administrators while the Communist agitators are rapidly and systematically expelled from the camps. This contradiction is never reconciled. Although the work is replete with sections subject to criticism, two issues are dealt with that subsequent literature avoids. Gray is one of the few authors to mention attempts by Chinese Canadians to get relief and petition for entry into the camps (Gray 1966:142). MacDowell (1995:220) does the same but only in passing. Secondly, *The Winter Years* is one of the few books that treats the topic of Communist agitators more than glancingly. The “Communist” presence in the camps is an issue



that will not be resolved in Gray's work. His lack of footnotes or bibliography makes sourcing impossible. As a result, questions arise as to whether the Communist phobia is a realistic element of the 1930s, as Gray portrays it, or a construct of the 1960s when the book was written. Ultimately, Gray establishes a trend that remains fairly consistent for the next two decades in dealing with relief camps: superficial treatment of the topic in favour of more exciting aspects of the Depression era.

In the following decades, relief camps were dealt with on an intermittent basis in historical literature. The majority of publications of this period relegate the camps to pictures or exceedingly brief paragraphs (see Francis 1985:150). When broader discussions are included, they are used solely to frame the events of the On-to-Ottawa Trek or the Regina Riot. When accounts are provided, they are often of such brevity as to be uninformative for academic purposes. Too frequently statements such as, "you were sent to a work camp to do forestry and road building work for as little as 20 [cents] a day, plus room and board," (Swankey 1971:6) are the only indications that relief camps ever existed. With one notable exception, an article by Glen Makahonuk (1984), it was not until the late 1980s and early 1990s, when literature, which incorporated a social historical approach began to emerge, that information documenting the accounts of the men in the camps became accessible.

*The Great Depression, 1929-1939*, by Pierre Berton is almost entirely a political history of the 1930s (Berton 1990). In it, however, appears one of the first examples of a lengthy discussion at any length of the relief camps. Although Berton has not written a social history of the camps, his treatment of issues such as the isolated locations, his recognition of the distress men faced when they realised that camp/relief policy essentially forced them to "stay or starve" (Berton 1990:158), and his discussion of camp conditions and the psychological impact they were having, aid in providing complexity and depth to life in the camps. Typical of Depression-focused literature, though, Berton uses this information as a means to introduce the demands of workers and as an explanation for the On-to-Ottawa Trek. Unfortunately, these aspects of camp existence are interspersed between hundreds of pages of economic and political analysis of that decade. Gleaning information regarding the camps will only be accomplished by those deliberately attempting to do so. Focusing on the On-to-Ottawa Trek at the

expense of analysis of relief camps results in major hindrances to the understanding of this period. Primarily, Berton fails to provide an adequate context for an understanding of the motivation for the march. Secondly, Berton falsely regionalizes the relief camp phenomenon. Relegating the camps to background information to the Trek and Riot implicitly conveys the notion that the camps existed largely in the western portion of Canada when they were a national phenomenon.

A second means through which the topic of relief camps is peripherally explored is through the examination of the fall of the Bennett Government in the 1935 election. Typically, the major reason provided for the Liberal victory is Bennett's decision to create the relief camps. Also implicated in Bennett's loss is Maj.-Gen. Andrew McNaughton and the Department of National Defence, the man and organisation charged with the responsibility of administering the relief camp program. Overwhelmingly this topic is the most impassioned.

Nearly seventy years later the Depression still elicits strong emotional and visceral reactions. Many of the authors writing on the topic were born after the events of the 1930s. Even Pierre Berton, born in 1920, was only in his early teens and would have experienced the Depression differently than those men his senior such as Gray. Yet in descriptions of the events and people of the early 1930s, Berton borders on an extremist perspective likening Bennett and McNaughton to the Nazis:

Fortunately for the reputation of the country, the idea [of establishing barbed-wire compounds] was abandoned as politically dangerous. Had it been carried out, Canada would have had the dubious distinction of being the only nation in the democratic world to initiate a penal system that differed only in degree from that being employed in Nazi Germany (Berton 1990:267).

This passage is in reference to Bennett and MacNaughton's considering the possibility of setting up special camps for dissenters and agitators. Visceral descriptions of this period are present in the literature produced by those who never directly experienced the Depression or were not old enough to experience it in the same way those in the relief camps did. The emotional reaction elicited by the topic itself is indicative of the dramatic impact the Depression had on the Canadian population for both those who

experienced it and those born in the following decades. The persistent fears of the men and women who experienced the Depression and of those who have grown up hearing the stories helped, and continue, to shape Canada. In this context it is not surprising that this era ingrained itself into the Canadian psyche.

### **2.2.2 Relief Camps: A Social History Perspective**

Until the development and adoption of the social history approach within the discipline of Canadian history, examinations of the past focused almost exclusively on the Euro-Canadian men who created Canada. The past was analysed through its economic, political, and military history. This body of work is an inherently classist, sexist, largely Anglophone and, at times, racist history of Canada. By focusing on the elite in Canadian history, such a result was largely unavoidable.

Over time, the sweeping social changes of the 1960s and the following decades began influencing academia and challenges were levied against the dominant form in which Canadian history was written. Analysis of class, gender, ethnicity, religion, and sexuality were undertaken. These examinations focused largely on researching Canadian history through the records left by the non-elite. Personal letters, diaries, and oral histories were combined with more traditional documentary evidence to enrich historical literature.

In some senses this new approach to history attempted to access the day-to-day lives of individuals within Canada, an undertaking that is particularly useful for the historical archaeologist who endeavours to do the same. From these writings are pulled the historical minutia essential to site interpretation. As the letters of Art White show, apparently off-handed comments about the people and places around him often supplement or provide evidence to the identification of structures and activity in an archaeological context. As a result of archaeology's attempt to reconstruct day-to-day existence, the use of a social history perspective within the discipline of history becomes a highly valuable source for interpretative information. Thus, an examination of the historiography of the relief camps will be biased towards social history approaches in the application of secondary sources in archaeological investigation.

One of the few works that stands out in the examination of relief camp literature is Glen Makahonuk's, *The Saskatoon Relief Camp Worker's Riot of May 8, 1933: An Expression of Class Conflict* which examines the role of the relief camps in Saskatoon from a class perspective (Makahonuk 1984). This article is of note because it is one of the few pieces that examine relief camps outside British Columbia. Unfortunately, according to the Social Sciences Citation Index (SSCI 1984-2002), this article has never been cited and appears to have had no impact within the literature. In part this is due to the innovative nature of the article, examining the past using a social history perspective before this approach became widely acceptable.

Irene Howard is the second individual to contribute to the establishment of non-traditional relief camp literature (Howard 1986). Her approach to the topic focused on the impact the mothers of the men working in the relief camps had in prompting the Vancouver strike of 1935 and subsequent On-to-Ottawa Trek. Her gendered approach remains unique and, like Makahonuk, according to the SSCI, her work has suffered from lack of inclusion within the academic historical discourse of this period (SSCI 1986-2002). Her work is of particular note in that it addresses the impact that the moving of tens of thousands of single unemployed men into the British Columbian interior had on families, specifically mothers and female supporters. Howard shows how the protesting women were influential as protestors because of prevailing gender stereotypes. That is, because authorities were unsure how to deal with protesting women and were reluctant to use force against them, the protest itself was more effective in addressing issues than prior incidents of labour unrest or civil disobedience by men.

Finally, two other valuable contributions to the study of relief camps outside of the typical regional, political, or economic analysis of this period are Bill Waiser's *Saskatchewan's Playground: A History of Prince Albert National Park* (1989) and *Park Prisoners: The Untold Story of Western Canada's National Parks, 1914-1946* (1995). Waiser's contributions highlight the presence of relief camps in Alberta and Manitoba, which are even more poorly represented in the literature than camps within Saskatchewan. Saskatchewan's preeminence in the literature pertaining to relief camps is largely a result of Waiser's productive writing of Saskatchewan history.

### 2.2.3 Gaps in the Literature and Areas to Explore

A tremendous amount of work remains available for investigation within this topic of Canadian history. The appearance of and, more importantly, broader acceptance of a social history approach to research allows for exceedingly promising avenues of investigation. Before touching on the potential avenues of research, some note will be made on existing gaps within the literature as a whole.

One of the most glaring problems is the highly regional nature with which this topic is treated. Except for the examples listed above there are no publications on relief camps in Alberta or Manitoba. The DND camps were a nation-wide phenomenon. Not only did they appear in the western provinces and Ontario but also Quebec, New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia (MacPherson 1987, v. 3; plate 42). These provinces had anywhere from 500 to 3000 men working in the camps in any given year yet, except for MacDowell's efforts, there is little written on the topic. Additionally, the lack of relief camps in the northern territories or Prince Edward Island has yet to be addressed adequately. Finally, there is also a need for clarification on the terminology used and on some of the incongruities within historical literature. The term "relief camp" is best employed for those camps within the National Park system. For the sake of clarity and to assist in differentiating the experiences of these two groups of men some other designation for the relief camps operated by the DND and the National Park's would be useful. In Makahonuk's discussion of the Saskatoon riot of 1933 he employs the term relief camp. Additionally, the various relief projects located outside of the Parks Canada system have also used the term relief camp.

In terms of historical incongruities, there exists confusion over when the establishment of the camps in PANP actually occurred. Waiser indicates the first appearance of camps for local residents occurred in 1930 (Waiser 1989:61 and 1995:61) and for transients October in 1932 (Waiser 1995:89). James Shortt, in *A Survey of the Human History of Prince Albert National Park 1887-1945*, places their establishment in 1931 (Shortt 1977). With the scarcity of literature in this field this leads to confusion, especially in the case of Shortt where he does not distinguish between which group of men he describes. Finally, although it seems fairly well established that the relief camps were winter camps occupied from October through April, Art White's letter to

Jack Linge dated June 4, 1934 and addressed from Camp #8 in PANP suggest that the relief season may have extended into the summer months.

In terms of the application of social history in examining the relief camps there are numerous avenues of potentially fruitful research. Of particular interest is an examination of the role of gender inside and out of the camps. Save for Howard's article there is little examination as to the impact the relief camps had on women. What was the influence of the displacement of so many men to these remote locations? It is also imperative to remember that the men in these camps only represented a portion of the population displaced during the Depression. Innumerable men also rode the rails in search for employment. The accepted gender norms dictated marriage for women in their late teens and early twenties. Did the absence of single men influence decisions to marry, delay marriage, or prevent it altogether? Did this initial deviation from expected gender roles help lay, or add to, the foundation for future women's rights movement?

Another aspect to the gender issue worth examining is the role of gender within the relief camps themselves. The 1930s was a period where strict gender roles existed. With the absence of women in the camps by necessity men would have to participate in work typically relegated to women. Jobs such as cooking, cleaning and laundering were undertaken at the camps. There is no indication within the literature as to how these tasks were assigned and the possible implication, if any, of men assigned "women's work." In her excavation of a late 1800s all-male religious community, Elizabeth Kryder-Reid detected social stratification based on gender stereotyping of work (Kryder-Reid 1994). The official intent of the community was one of equality, but those men who cooked and cleaned assumed a lower status because of the usual assignment of these tasks to women in outside society. Examination of any similarities in the relief camp setting would be possible with publications such as Barry Broadfoot's (1997) *Ten Lost Years, 1929-1939: Memories of Canadians Who Survived the Depression*, letters such as Art White's, and the potential use of the internet as a means of accessing personal experiences and reminiscences of those in the camps and their relatives.

Finally, Berton discusses the demoralizing role that the lack of sex played for the men of the camps. Although no evidence of women was discovered at the site

under study in the thesis, this does not preclude their presence. The question of whether camp supervisors were unaware of women sneaking into the camp or turning a blind eye is intriguing. The men were given a pittance allowance for the work they did. Did prostitutes or girlfriends seek out locations where they would have access to the camps? One excerpt from *Ten Lost Years* discusses other recourses some of the men turned to for sexual release:

It wasn't too good a situation because they didn't screen anybody, and every camp had a few perverts and us young guys, well what did we know about that. Some older guys gets friendly, helps you out, gives you advice, loans you tobacco, the old con, of course, and there were a few young guys who became bum boys. Too bad, but if the other guys found out, they'd usually run Herbert the Pervert out. Sometimes the kids too, because these young guys would get pretty cheeky. In some ways we policed our own camp in the way the army platoon will police themselves (Broadfoot 1997:106).

Not only does this passage portray the presence of homosexuality within the camps but also indicates that informal policing occurred amongst the men. These are topics that have yet to be addressed within relief camp historiography. Examination of these aspects of the camps could be useful in not only showing the dramatic impact the Depression had on people but also in potentially elucidating aspects of gender relations in subsequent decades.

Another area that has received little attention within the literature is the examination of how the camps were provisioned. To provision the camps either the establishment or expansion of infrastructure was necessary. There is no analysis of which companies supplied provisions for the camps and to what extent they were profiting from doing so. As will be shown later, Imperial Tobacco supplied the bulk of tobacco provisions for Camp #9. On what basis were companies awarded the contracts? Were existing provisioners for the Department of National Defence employed or was the contract tendered out? Most importantly, is there evidence that Ontario and Quebec were used as locations for the provisioning of the western camps at the expense of companies in the west that could have done so?

Other aspects of inquiry include an examination of the perception of class or class change as a result of working in the camps or an examination of the long-term effects the Depression had on that generation of Canadians. For example, how did the rest of Canadian society regard men who had spent time in relief camps after the Depression ended? The organisation of the men within the camps to protest conditions and strike was contingent on leadership yet no analysis as to how this leadership evolved is available. Although Gray describes homogenisation within the camps, is it a reality? Were the camp men able to withdraw themselves from established society or was society replicating itself within the camps based upon pre-existing class lines? Was it the better educated who were acting as leaders or did the economic destitution act to level hierarchical social relationships?

The issue of race is also largely unaddressed. As Gray and MacDowell both mention, there are instances of Chinese-Canadians attempting to enter the camps. There is no accessible information as to how successful these efforts were. Although MacDowell mentions Chinese-Canadians in camps, none of the pictures examined during the research of this thesis ever portrayed visible minorities. An exploration of race and ethnic relations within the camps and during the Depression is needed.

Finally, examination of the long-term impact of the Depression and the camps themselves is required. The generation growing up during the Depression is often characterised as conservative and frugal. After their experiences this attitude might be explained through fears of returning to the destitution of the 1930s. Additionally, how many contacts were made in the camps that proved advantageous in later life? These are simply a few of the potentially fruitful avenues of research available. It is hoped that these issues will begin to be addressed in the future.

The Depression was one of the most influential events of the twentieth century in Canada. It acted as the impetus for political, economic, and social change. The process of understanding is aided by attempts of numerous disciplines and the public to put into words the experiences from the 1930s. Unfortunately, historical investigation into this era focuses largely on the On-to-Ottawa Trek, the Regina Riot, or the fall of the Bennett government. The catalyst for these changes, in part, was the experiences of those in the relief camps. Although the relief camp phenomenon in the DND and



National Park manifestations spanned from the Atlantic to the Pacific oceans, academic investigation focuses largely on the camps in British Columbia and, to some extent, Saskatchewan. Distressingly, archaeological research of relief camps is effectively absent. What is available is presented in the following chapter prior to the introduction of Camp #9.

## **Chapter 3**

### **Archaeology of Relief Camps and Camp #9, Prince Albert National Park**

#### *3.1 Archaeological Investigation of Relief Camps in Canada*

To date, few archaeologists have investigated of relief camps, including those operated by the National Parks or the DND. Not only is this unfortunate but dangerous for future interpretation of the Depression era from an archaeological perspective. Owing to Parks Canada's preservation mandate, those camps that operated within their boundaries are protected and will, barring major development in the Parks, only experience risk through natural processes such as weathering, erosion or aging. Mitigation of sites threatened by human activity will be undertaken and the likely result of this will be excavation. From this, contributions to both academic literature and the public will occur through new programming initiatives and displays. Although this does not secure the safety of these sites in perpetuity, at the very least the archaeological community and Canadian population as a whole will have the greatest opportunity to acquire information from the camps contained in the National Parks in the coming years.

The camps operated by the DND are in a position of far greater peril. The responsibility for this falls to both archaeologists and the public. Traditionally archaeologists have been negligent in their treatment of the archaeological record when dealing with the historic period. A temporal elitism within the community exists: the older the site, the greater the perceived value. This is especially true of recent historic sites. This attitude is exemplified in a 1976 archaeological investigation of a region in Alberta slated for highway expansion and development. This region contains a DND relief camp but in the authors' introduction they expressly illustrate their preferential prehistorical emphasis: "Historic materials or structures were not recorded in any detail" (McCullough and Reeves 1977:21). This site fell within the region likely to receive impact due to future construction but the survey was biased towards prehistoric sites.

In 1978, McCullough and Reeves' initial approach was mediated by test excavation of the camp. E. Jane Warner, the archaeologist to undertake a more thorough examination of the site, stated:

Although EgPt-11 [the site] was occupied a scant 40 years ago, and hence is of little interest to many researchers, its worth is judged to be significant....Researchers of the future will undoubtedly be interested in social and cultural adaptations made to this economic phenomenon, the depression. Relief camps of the 1930's are becoming scarcer as development escalates. If interest cannot be generated in this site today, then it should be preserved for futures generations, for they will not be able to study or preserve what already has been destroyed. (Warner 1979:103)

Thus far, only a handful of relief camps are identified within archaeological literature (see Table 3.1) of those located exclusively in western Canada, (only two have been tested or excavated): the Canmore relief camp (EgPt-11) operated by the DND, and Camp #9 in PANP, the subject of this thesis. Not only is further excavation of relief camps required but also a broader reporting of them.

**Table 3.1 Relief Camps Currently Identified as Archaeological Sites in Canada\***

<b>Province</b>	<b>Camp Name/Number</b>	<b>Borden Number /Parks Canada Designation</b>	
British Columbia	Relief Camp/Homestead	DgSk-99	
Alberta	East Frank Relief Camp Camp 5, Canmore East	DjPo-15 EgPt-11	
	Undesignated Camp Depression/Relief Camp	EhPx-16 FfQh-8	
Saskatchewan**	Namekus Relief Camp	FkNm-7	12N226
	Charlie Booth Relief Camp	FkNm-8	12N229
	Camp #4	FkNm-9	12N231
	Camp #6	FlNm-55	12N178
	Camp #9	FlNn-15	12N150
	Camp #14	FjNn-3	12N234

\*Data derived from Canadian Heritage Information Network – Archaeology Site Index (accessed 03/28/2002).

\*\*All recorded relief camps in Saskatchewan are located in PANP.

In recent years, Fedirchuk McCullough and Associates Ltd. (FMA) conducted a survey in association with the Cheviot Mines Project in the Rocky Mountains in west central Alberta. The crew of the 1996 field season discovered a relief camp (FfQh-8). The site is approximately 50 m by 90 m and consists of several depressions and a small dump. Subsequent interpretation, in conjunction with archival research, led to the conclusion that the camp accommodated approximately 50 men engaged in the building of a road between two communities, Cadomin and Leyland (Kulle and Neal 1996:391). Other than as a relief camp, there are few other similarities of this site to Camp #9 in PANP. This, in itself, provides greater justification for increased efforts geared towards archaeological investigation of this period in Canada's history.

Of paramount importance in the coming years is an identification of relief camp sites operated by both the DND and National Parks in order to assess the threat posed to this resource by human activity. This will require a comprehensive analysis of government documentation from the 1930s combined with archaeological surveying of potential sites. The rate of human development in conjunction with the traditional disregard by archaeologists of recent historical sites results in a situation where a substantial number of relief camps may be destroyed before “discovering” their value in increasing our understanding of the Depression.

### *3.2 Prince Albert National Park*

#### **3.2.1 Location**

Located approximately 60 km north of the city of Prince Albert, the park straddles the most northern edge of the grasslands and southern edge of the boreal forest with intermittent parkland in between. Over the course of its development the park grew from its initial 3566 km<sup>2</sup> in 1927 up to a maximum of 4841 km<sup>2</sup> in 1929. In 1947 an Amendment to the National Parks Act reduced the park to its current 3875 km<sup>2</sup>, the ninth largest park within the Parks Canada system (Lothian 1977:93). The park is roughly rectangular in shape with its boundaries delimited by the 53°35' and 54°20' north latitudes and 106° to 106°42' longitudes west of the 3<sup>rd</sup> Meridian (see Figure 3.1).

#### **3.2.2 Relief Camps in PANP**

Attempting to assess the exact number of camps within PANP is an impossible task. Given the duration of occupation and construction of some of the camps not all of them are amenable to discovery. Those with established locations are solely the permanent camps built to house men for protracted periods of time. Some camps, however, were intended for only brief occupation and were composed of tents. As Shortt points out, in the first two years of the use of PANP for relief purposes the camps were highly mobile and very remote, some even requiring provisioning by plane (Shortt 1977:23). This is due largely to the work in which the men were engaged, specifically the delineation of park boundaries and brushing of campsites (ARDI 1931).

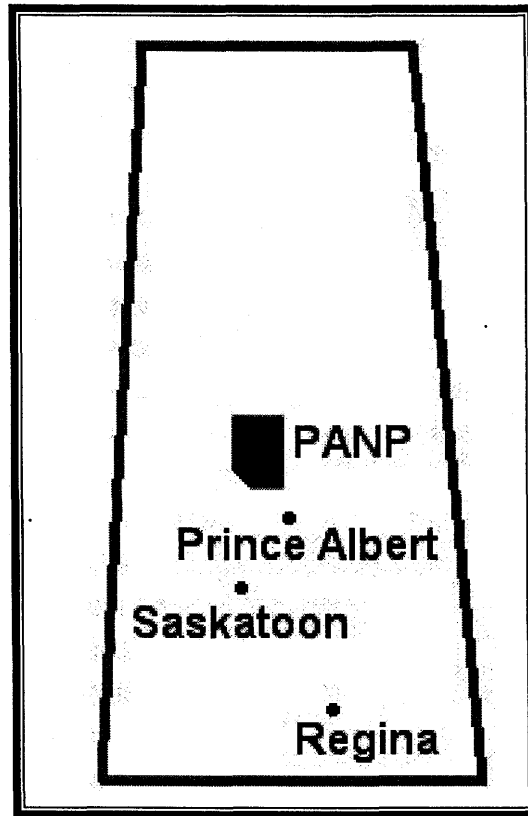


Figure 3.1 Map of Saskatchewan showing PANP (by author)

These tasks required a relatively small amount of time to complete and did not justify the expense and effort of erecting permanent dwellings. When funding from the federal government became available in 1932 and relief efforts expanded within the National Parks this situation changed.

The establishment of the permanent campsites and increase in number of men altered the type of the relief work conducted in the park. The men were engaged in the development of a substantial amount of PANP's infrastructure. The building of roads, expansion and realignment of highway and building of the town site of Waskesiu were far greater undertakings and necessitated that the men remain in one location for long periods of time. The building of permanent camps resulted. Although the camps varied in composition depending on the number of men in them, either 50 or 100, certain structures were common to all of them, the most obvious were the bunkhouses. Additional structures described at the camps include, dinning hall and kitchen, barn, laundry/bathing house, and privy (ARDI 1931). One of the letters from Art White also

mentions the presence of a blacksmith but whether or not there was a separate building for this use is not known (letter, Art White to Jack Linge, December 14, 1933). If the drawings based on aerial photographs can be used as indicative of the camp layout then it would appear that the organisation of buildings on site was according to a grid system (see Figure 3.2, 3.3 and 3.4).

### 3.2.3 History of Investigation of PANP and Rediscovery of Camp #9

#### 3.2.3.1 Archaeology

The discovery process of Camp #9, and its subsequent identification by Parks Canada is a particularly convoluted affair. In many respects this is largely a result of the age of the site. Straddling the indeterminate boundary between being simply 'old' and recognised as an archaeological resource, its treatment within Park's Canada

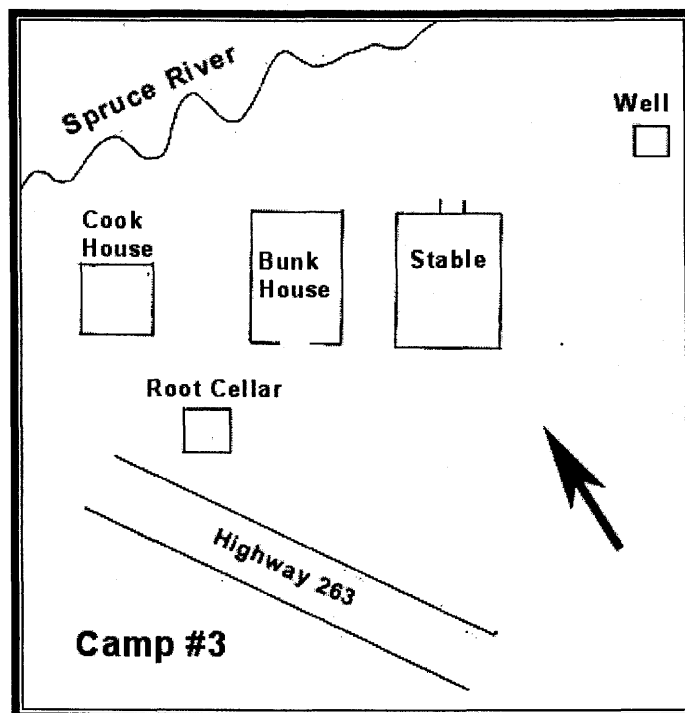


Figure 3.2 Camp #3 PANP (adapted from copy of Parr and Lunn 1990 provided by Waiser 2001)

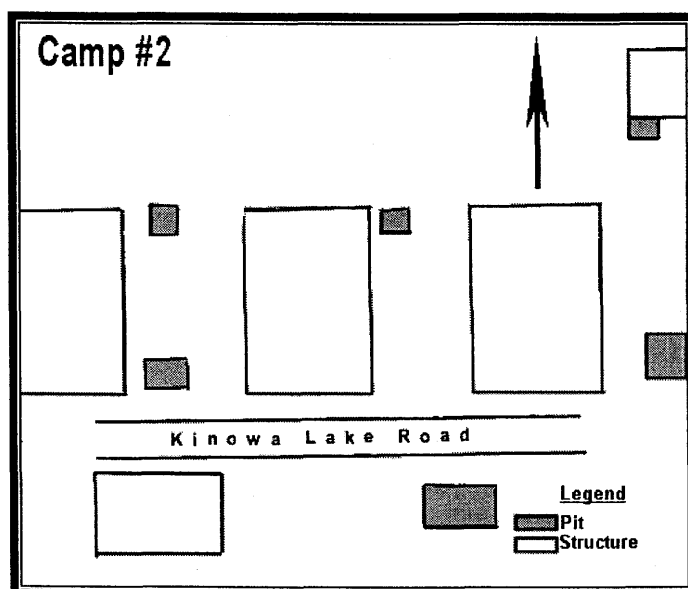


Figure 3.3 Camp #2, PANP (adapted from copy of Parr and Lunn 1990 provided by Waiser 2001)

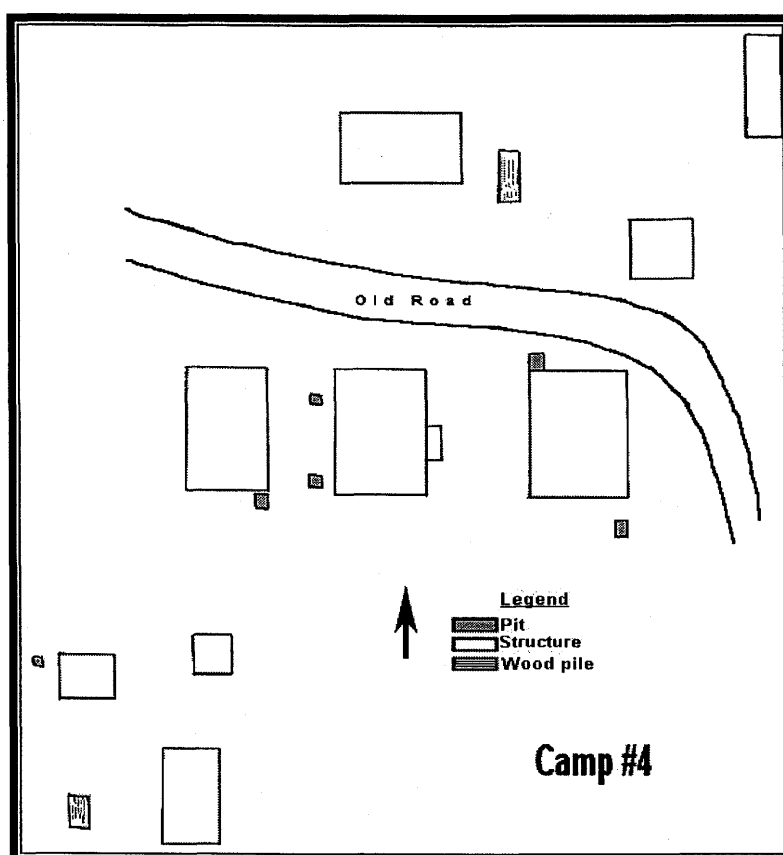


Figure 3.4 Camp #4, PANP (adapted from copy of Parr and Lunn 1990 provided by Waiser 2001)



literature is largely one of deferral to historians. Unfortunately historians generally do not include information particularly pertinent for archaeological purposes. These include exact longitudes and latitudes, maps, or photographs of artifacts. This problem has posed challenges to tracking Camp #9's initial appearance within Parks Canada's reports.

Two major archaeological surveys of PANP were undertaken in the early 1970s. The 1971 survey, under the direction of Michael Forsman, then of the University of Saskatchewan, identified a total of 75 sites within the park (Gryba 1974:1). Subsequent investigation by Gryba in 1973 expanded PANP archaeological sites' inventory and provided testing of eight of the previously identified sites. The Forsman survey's mandate included the examination of numerous areas within PANP with the focus of attempting to "determine for the area man's culture history and the nature of his interaction with the environment through time" (Forsman 1972:1). Salvage archaeology was conducted in five locations within the Park slated for development. These areas included the Waskesiu townsite, Heart's Lake road, the Narrows Road, Narrow's Crossing and Elk Trail. The examination of areas surrounding these locations intended to identify sites at risk from road expansion or realignment. Unfortunately Forsman's methodological approach to the surveying of the area around the Narrow's Road did not precisely define the extent of the survey area. It is possible that, situated 183 m south of the Narrows Road, Camp #9 fell outside the study area. Based upon the maps provided by Forsman this would seem the assumption given that the survey only includes sites that fall in the range of 50 m of the road.

In 1973, Eugene Gryba conducted a second survey of PANP. His survey region concentrated in the southern periphery of the park around the Sandy Lake, Elk Trail, the western portion of Namekus Lake and the region around the First Narrows. Although the area in which Camp #9 is located falls just outside of Gryba's defined survey regions, his study is of note because of the methodology he employed. Gryba determined to exclude late 19<sup>th</sup> and all 20<sup>th</sup> century sites (Gryba 1974:3). In so doing he omitted sites dating to the final period of logging by the Prince Albert Lumber Company and the relief camps of the Depression that were later identified in subsequent historical investigations within the park (see Shortt 1975). This is illustrative of the biased

approach to dealing with the archaeological record to the exclusion of the historic period and will necessitate resurveying of the aforementioned areas if PANP wishes to determine if relief camps are present.

The first appearance of Camp #9 within archaeological literature occurred as a result of a survey conducted by J. Parr and K. Lunn in 1988 and 1990. At the time of the writing of this thesis the report by Parr and Lunn could not be located by Parks Canada for the purposes of review by the author.

### 3.2.3.2 History

James Shortt's 1975 report is one of the first to deal with relief camps in any significant way. He refers to them as "one of the most significant, though poorly recorded, aspects of this area's [PANP] history". Most importantly is Shortt's inclusion of one of the first maps (see figure 3.5) providing locations, albeit some with only probable or tentative identifications, of both lumber and relief camps. Camp #9 is activity site #23 according to Shortt. Comment is made as to some of the activities of the relief workers.

On a broader level PANP also suffers from the same malaise towards the treatment of relief camps that most historians do in terms of the avoidance of the topic. Public acknowledgement of the efforts relief workers went to to build the facilities that both the staff and public use on a regular basis does not appear anywhere within the park. PANP has, instead, allowed a different phenomenon of the 1930s to monopolise the focus of public programming for this period: the infamous Archibald Balaney, also known as Grey Owl. Grey Owl moved into the park in 1931, a year after the establishment of the first camps. For the next seven years PANP used him as a local attraction. Conservationist, author and "Indian," Balaney proved a valuable drawing card for a population suffering from the effects of the Depression, enticing both money and people into the park. Film crews taped countless hours of Grey Owl with his pet beavers while the relief workers built the roads the films crews used to reach their new star. Almost 70 years later this trend continues and the relief camp workers of PANP still await their major motion picture.

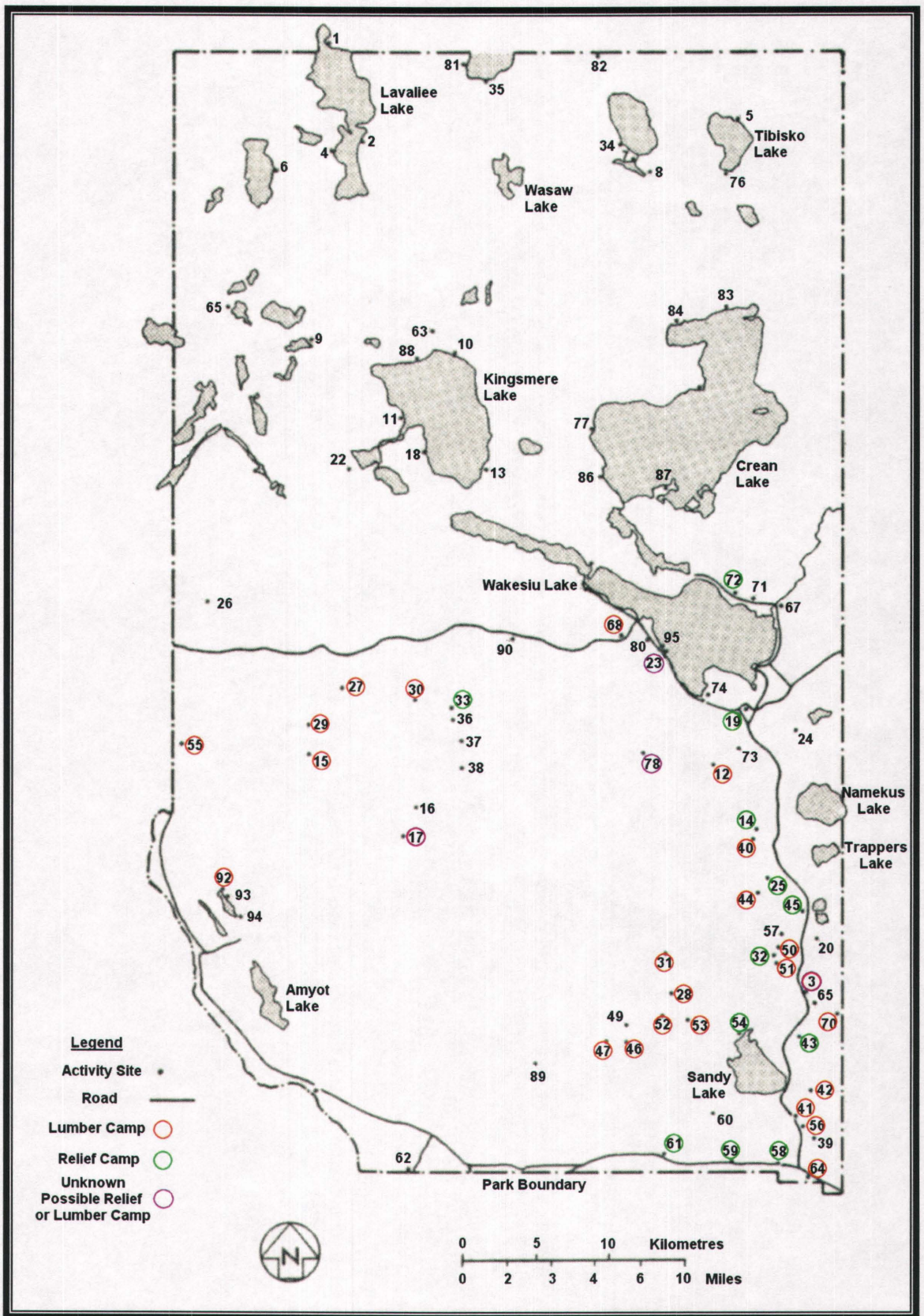


Figure 3.5 Historic Activity Sites, PANP (after Shortt 1975:110)



### 3.2.4 Camp #9

Camp #9 is located on the northern slope of the Waskesiu Hills approximately 183 m south of the Narrows Road, adjacent to Clare Beach (see Figure 3.6).



Figure 3.6 Contour map of south west portion of Waskesiu Lake showing location of Camp #9. Contour intervals are 25 feet. Map reference 73 G/16 Scale 1:50,000

Although presently heavily overgrown, the old access road is still recognizable. This road not only formed the major route into and out of the camp but also the most western boundary of the site. Aerial photos were taken of the site in conjunction with surveying but were not accessible at the time of the writing of this thesis. A copy of a map drawn from the aerial photos was in the possession of Dr. Bill Waiser and was made available for study (see Figure 3.7)

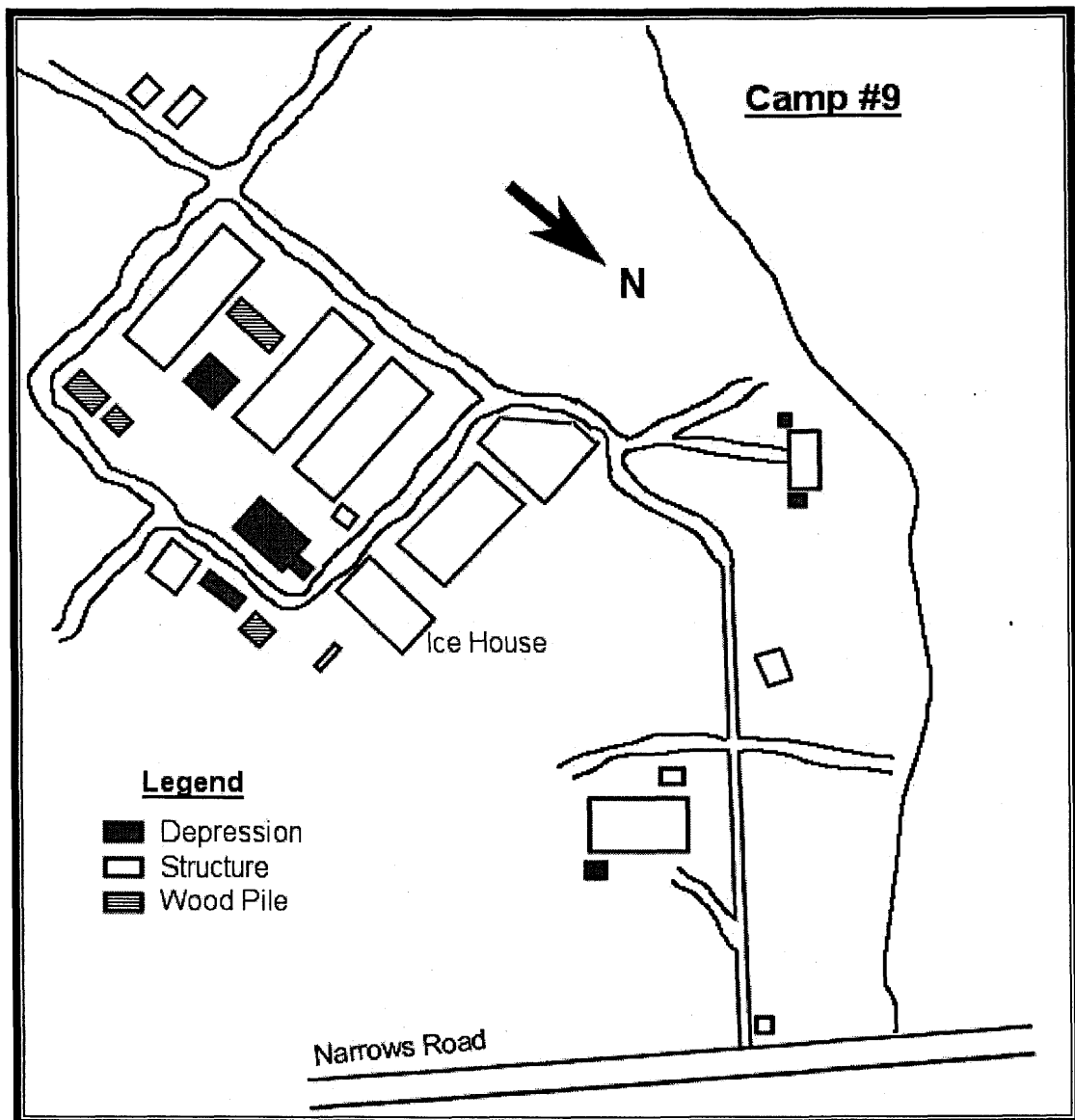


Figure 3.7 Camp #9, PANP (adapted from copy of Parr and Lunn 1990 provided by Waiser 2001)

Subsequent ground truthing and professional survey contest, somewhat, the layout and number of structures present at the site (see Figure 3.8). To some extent this can be credited to the lack of ground surveillance in previous investigations (David Arthurs, personal communication, 2001) and to changes occurring over time including erosion, growth of vegetation and decomposition and collapse of structural remains.

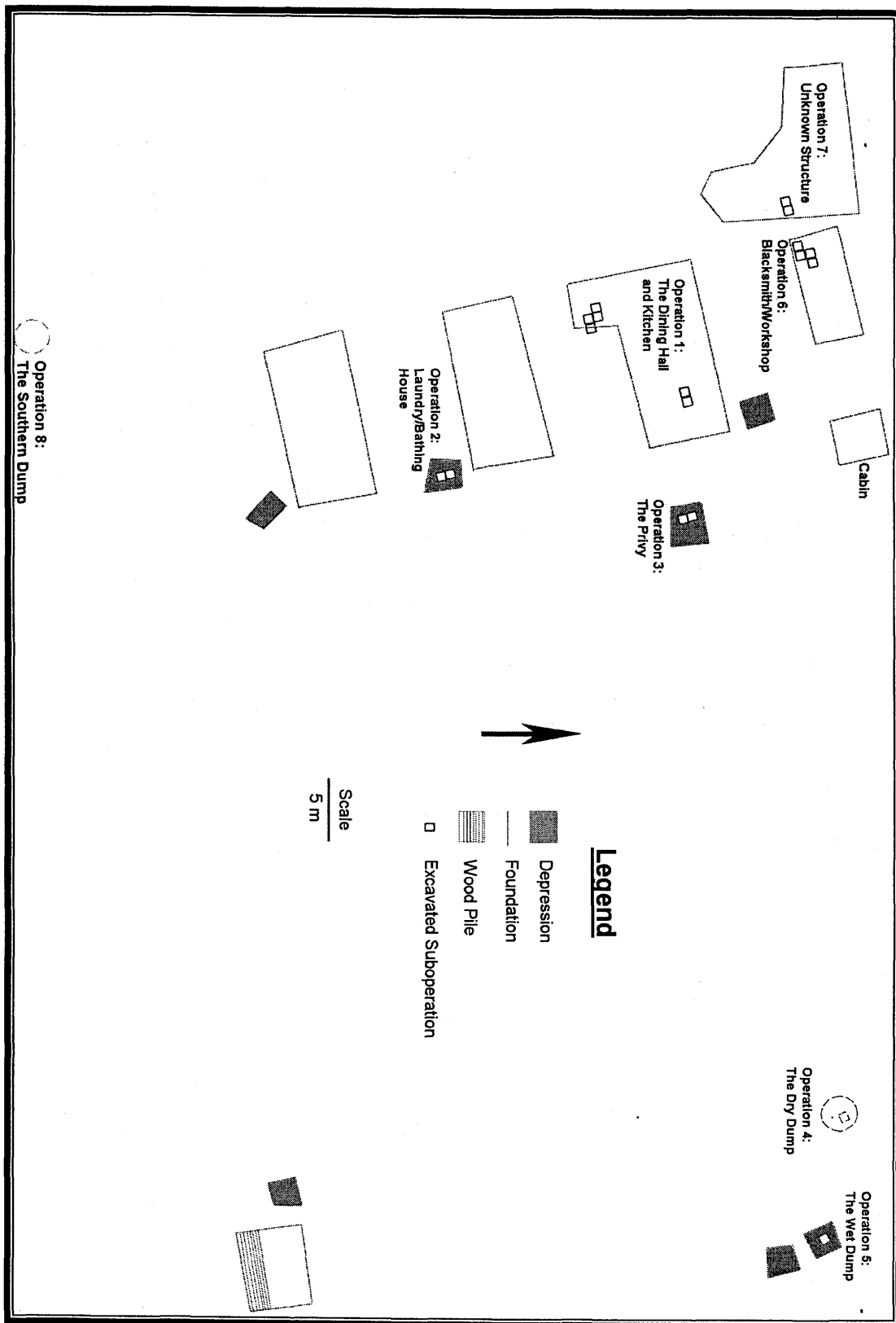


Figure 3.8 Camp #9 showing both operations and suboperations, (after map provided by LEDUC Surveying 2002)

At the start of the 2001 field season Camp #9 was moderately overgrown. Various tree species have colonized the site since abandonment and a substantial canopy now exists over most of the area. Only intermittent areas are exposed to direct sunlight and these are predominantly located on the former road into the area and the areas delineated as roads or trails in the Parr and Lunn map. According to PANP interpretive staff the cabin has deteriorated substantially over the last decade and will likely collapse entirely within the next ten years. Although a thick layer of moss is present throughout the site numerous surface artifacts are visible. These items date to both the occupation of the site during the Depression and subsequent visits by tourists and include tobacco cans and a 1956 Pepsi bottle and 1970's "stubby" beer bottle, respectively. In addition graffiti within the cabin dating to the 1950's and beyond attest to the frequent presence of individuals at the site.

Based upon the configuration of foundation lines visible at Camp #9 it appears that six buildings are represented. Five of the buildings are concentrated at the centre of the site and are believed to represent the core of the camp. These buildings include the cabin, one small structure and three other structures. Based upon descriptions of the composition in camps provided by the ARDI these other structures are likely the bunk houses, kitchen/dining hall, laundry and workshop. An image of one relief camp (possibly Camp #9) shows two of these buildings (see figure 3.9).

Inside one of these buildings, discussed further in following chapters, moss growth is associated with rotting floorboards. This building was later interpreted as the kitchen. An historical photograph of one kitchen is presented in Waiser's *Park Prisoners* (1995) and is assumed to be a typical kitchen/dining hall at a relief camp (see figure 3.10). Of particular note in this photograph is the lack of ceramics present on the table. In order to keep costs to a minimum durable metal utensils, plates and cups were used. Interestingly, within the two structures the orientation of the wood siding of the outer walls is different. In addition several depressions are present in association with the buildings and may represent "borrow pits" or areas from which the earth was used to build the foundation lines.





Figure 3.9 Two buildings at a relief camp in PANP (PANP Collection, 046-03).



Figure 3.10 Inside of kitchen and dining hall (Canadian Parks Service, Western Regional Office, Webster Collection)



### 3.2.5 Environmental Setting

PANP has a typical continental climate. Long cold winters and short cool summers are the norm with some localized fluctuation occurring as a result of the large lakes, variations in the elevation and differences in local flora. During the summer this results in depressed temperature in areas of low elevation with the opposite occurring in winter. Typically there are less than 80 frost-free days per year, with intermittent freezing occurring even during summer months (Bauer 1976:3).

PANP owes much of its topography to the effects of the melting glaciers 12,000 years ago. The recession of the ice sheets resulted in the deposition of moraines overlaying glacial till which accounts for the park's present hilly terrain. The highest formation within the park are the Waskesiu Hills that rise to an elevation of approximately 700 m above sea level, south of Waskesiu Lake (Gryba 1974:5) (see Figure 3.11).

Loamy gray luvisolic soil predominates throughout PANP, typical of forest and transitional parkland-forest soils (Fung 1999:130,132). Classified as Mixed Wood/Southern Boreal Forest, the dominant vegetation is presently jack pine and aspen (Bird 1974:64). This also poses the most significant threat to the relief camps within the park. Approximately 70 years have passed since the occupation of the camps. Jack pine and white spruce can start dying as early as the age of 75 (website: Fire Effects Information System 2002). In the coming years those trees that colonised the site after its abandonment may begin dying. Some already have. Shortly after the tree dies it collapses. This is especially true of jack pines that have a particularly shallow root system. When the trees collapse, much of the root system in the immediate area of the trunk is torn from the ground. This will be a major source of disturbance of artifacts and features at the site. This is compounded by recent climatic changes that have resulted in the shifting of the boundary between the aspen parkland and southern boreal forest. This boundary is shifting north at an alarming rate (Melanie Pretty, personal communication, 2002). As the environment around Waskesiu begins changing the rate of die-off of the boreal forest vegetation will likely accelerate. This will also cause a hastening of the damage done to archaeological sites. Historic period sites will

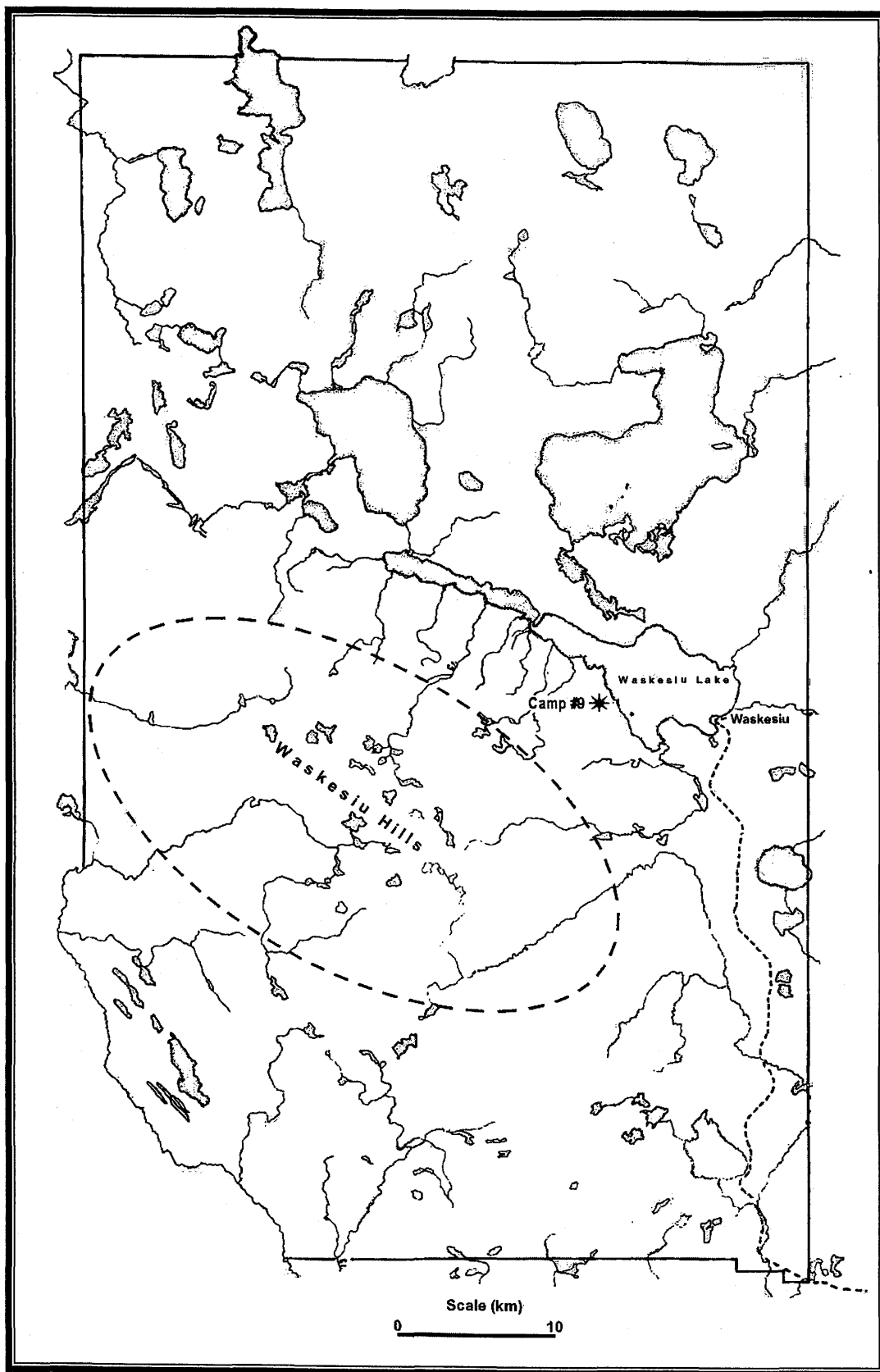


Figure 3.11 Map of PANP showing Waskesiu Hills

generally receive greater impact due to their shallow depositional nature. As park flora change over the course of the following years there will also be potentially significant alterations to the faunal populations within the park as well. Local mammal populations presently include moose, deer, black bear, beaver, hare and bison (Crosby 1974:8-29). Of these, only evidence for human use of beaver and hare is present at Camp #9.

### **3.2.6 Human Use of PANP**

On May 9, 1927 the Honourable Charles Stewart, Minister of the Interior announced the establishment of Canada's first National Park in Saskatchewan. This marked the culmination of nearly six years of lobbying efforts geared towards the establishment of a National Park in Saskatchewan (Lothian 1987:68). Over the course of the next decade PANP saw rapid development, largely as a result of the relief workers during the Depression and the Alternative Service Camp workers of World War II. Although this marked the official establishment of the park as a recreational and leisure facility for Canadians, PANP has, in fact, been a region utilized by humans for thousands of years. Archaeological investigation of the park indicates human use of the area by 8,000 years ago but may extend as far back as 10,000 years ago (Gryba 1974:14). Following European contact, this region also was a major location for fur trading and logging. These activities were the source of concern regarding the possibility that Camp #9 could potentially be a lumber camp in addition to or instead of a relief camp. Although no evidence for this was discovered this possibility is not precluded. Examination of the features and artifacts recovered from the site is presented in the following two chapters with a discussion of site identity occurring in chapter 6.

## **Chapter 4**

### **Excavation of Camp #9: Methods and Results**

#### *4.1 Archaeological Investigation at Camp #9*

Camp #9 was first reported in the 1988-1990 Parr and Lunn survey and designated 12N150 in accordance with the Parks Canada system for site numbering. It additionally received the Borden number FcNp-15. Negotiations between Parks Canada and myself for the privilege of excavating the site started in the fall of 2000 with the projected date for the commencement of fieldwork to be in the following summer. Parks Canada required in-depth preparatory work prior to entering the field and established stringent guidelines for conduct while excavation was underway. A total of 15 1 m<sup>2</sup> excavation units was initially proposed. This was later expanded to 18 units as a result of requirements in the field at the time of excavation. In addition to various environmental and personnel safety issues addressed, one of the requirements Parks Canada imposed was the excavation of the site using their methodology. While excavation was underway the opportunity for public programming was seized. A tour of Camp #9 was scheduled for the end of the second week of excavation. In retrospect, the opportunity for public programming was a highly valuable experience and important in the site interpretation process.

## 4.2 *Public Programming*

The excavation itself extended over a period of three weeks from July 17 until August 2, 2001 with the workweek running Wednesday through Sunday. Working weekends allowed the opportunity to conduct public programs with the intent of making the site accessible to the “weekend crowd”. A tour of the site was organised for Sunday, July 28. To maintain public safety and site integrity a maximum of 25 participants was established. Having missed the publishing deadline for the summer programming guide, posters advertising the tour were printed only two days prior to the tour itself. Advertising was posted in the museum and select locations within the Waskesiu townsite. That Sunday, 32 tourists arrived on site accompanied by a Parks Canada interpreter. Tourists were introduced to some of the fundamentals of archaeological excavation methodology and recording systems, provided with an overview of the Depression and relief camps and subsequently given a tour of the site and provided with some preliminary interpretation. The formal tour lasted approximately one hour with nearly half the group remaining on site to ask questions and offer suggestions, comments, and personal insights into the Depression and Camp #9. One comment proved to be of particular interest and is discussed in chapter 6.

The value of the tour at this particular site and role of public programming in general at archaeological sites cannot be overstated. For the public, the capacity to observe archaeological work and hold artifacts prior to their relegation to places in storage boxes or within display cases engages them directly. It allows history to be removed from books and museums and disseminated to a population who might not otherwise be exposed to it. During a time of the curtailing of funds for the social sciences an enjoyable on-site experience may also help to garner support for future archaeological endeavours.

Public programming, for the researcher, forces a temporary withdraw from the minutia of academic investigation for a time. It forces the researcher to develop the communication skills necessary for discussing, in an accessible way, what it is he or she is actually doing. Additionally, by necessitating engagement with individuals unfamiliar with archaeological terminology, elements of excavation practices can be examined by both the archaeologist and public and act as a check to the research being

conducted. Given my experience, the enthusiasm with which the tour was met resulted in a validation of the work I was conducting and resulted in renewed energy for the continuation of the project. Whenever possible, public programming should be included in archaeological research.

#### 4.3 Parks Canada Archaeological Methodology

Prior to further discussion of the excavation of Camp #9 some note must be made on the methodology and vocabulary used by Parks Canada. The Parks Canada system differs substantially from the methodology employed outside of the National Parks and in many respects has more in common with systems in use in Classical and Near Eastern archaeology. Ultimately based on a scheme developed by the University of Pennsylvania Museum, the fundamental component is the provenience system. As in all archaeology, the provenience system employed by Parks is designed to locate an artifact or feature in three-dimensional space. The system (see Figure 4.1) is based on a hierarchical alpha-numeric code which appears in the following format:

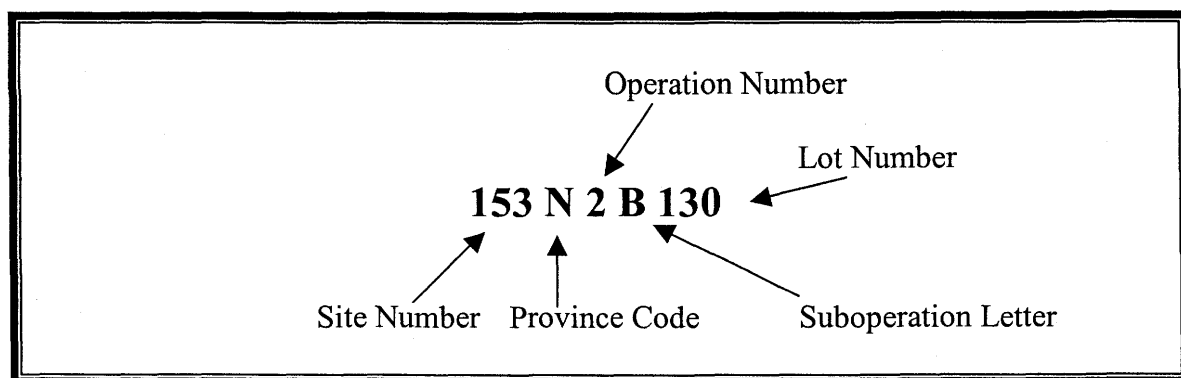


Figure 4.1 Parks Canada Provenience System Code

The various numbers and letters assigned are done so on the discretion of the excavator, according to how (s)he feels the code may best organise the particular archaeological endeavour. The first portion of the code is the *site number*. This is a number assigned to a particular archaeological undertaking. The *province code* letter indicates in which province the work is conducted. For the purposes of the 2001 field

season at Camp #9 the number 153N was assigned; the 153rd archaeological undertaking by Parks Canada within Saskatchewan.

The *operation number* is assigned based on a “culturally significant” or “distinct but identifiable” area. At Camp #9 these numbers were assigned based upon in which structure work was conducted. The “2” in the above example was assigned to a deep depression at the site. The general application of this number is usually to structures, identifiable rooms within structures, yards, gardens.

The *suboperation letter* is the smallest horizontal control within this system. At Camp #9 this translates into the assigning of 1 m x 1 m square units a suboperation letter. Finally, the *lot number* is assigned to “all excavated volumes of material”. In practical application this converts into the assigning of a lot number to individual artifacts, significant clusters of artifacts, features, levels, level interfaces, structural elements, samples. Associated with this is also a three-dimensional location based off a reference point, or datum. In the case of Camp #9 the southwest point was used as a datum for the location of artifacts within each suboperation.

This provenience system leads to some confusion when examining records from sites excavated within Parks Canada, especially sites where archaeological undertakings have occurred multiple times. Camp #9 is a prime example. According to this system the surveying of PANP by Parr and Lunn was assigned 12N; the 12th archaeological undertaking within Saskatchewan. Individual sites identified by Parr and Lunn were subsequently assigned operation numbers. Thus, upon identification of Camp #9 in the 1988-1990 survey the provenience number assigned was 12N150. While surveying, no suboperations letters or lot numbers were assigned. For the purposes of excavation in 2001 Camp #9 was given the number 153N. In the future, depending on the particular undertaking within the park, Camp #9 may receive further numbers or, if re-excavation occurs, “153N” may be reused. For further information and a more detailed explanation of the application of Parks Canada’s provenience system see *Parks Canada Archaeology Manual Volume 1: Excavation Records System*, 1977.

#### 4.4 *Research Objectives Revisited*

As mentioned in Chapter 1, the overarching research objective involves the hypothesizing of how consumer behaviour may have been used by the men to improve social conditions at Camp #9. This will be accomplished through the analysis of artifacts recovered from the site that were not provided by the government and, thus, purchased by the men of the camp. In addition several more basic goals were involved in the 2001 field season. These included: one, analysis of artifacts and soil profiles to identify structures and attempt to assess the identity of Camp #9 as a relief camp, logging camp or both; two, the preparation of a detailed map of the site to delineate Camp #9's extent and correct maps drawn from aerial photos by Parr and Lunn; three, surface and subsurface sampling of various locations in order to obtain a representative sample of artifacts to mediate their collection by tourists.

##### 4.4.1 **Mapping of Camp #9**

Initially, when negotiating with Parks Canada, it was agreed to retain the services of Dennis McGonigal of Real Property Services, Winnipeg for the surveying of the site using a Total Station. This was to be done on a cost recovery basis with the time to survey Camp #9 added to one of the existing survey projects within PANP. This represented a substantially generous service. Mapping of the site was to take place sometime near the end of the excavation field season or shortly thereafter. By November, as a result of PANP's unwillingness to establish a firm date for commencement of its survey projects alternate means of mapping the site were recommended (Dennis McGonigal, personal communication, 2001).

Leo LeDuc of LEDUC Surveying, a professional surveyor in Prince Albert who happened to have an interest in archaeology, volunteered his services, time and crew to map the site. The mapping was undertaken in mid-November 2001. What resulted was the generation of a site map with the locations of structures, features and excavated suboperations. Unfortunately this map includes several mistakes as a result of the author's inability to be present at the time of surveying. Therefore the map is not included in its original but corrected form within this thesis. Highlights of salient map



sections are also provided prior to the discussion of various sections. The complete map is provided in Chapter 3, Figure 3.8.

#### **4.4.2 Testing of Features**

Prior to the commencement of excavation at Camp #9 on July 19, 2001 Dr. Margaret Kennedy and I visited the site. An on-foot investigation, with discussion of possible locations for excavation occurred. This resulted in the identification of several potentially productive features and eight suboperations were initially staked out. Once in the field two of these suboperations were reassigned and an additional ten were opened throughout the course of the field season. A total of 18 suboperations (totalling 18 square meters) were excavated resulting in the testing of eight different features. Each feature was assigned an operation number in accordance with the Parks Canada archaeological methodology. All excavated suboperations measured 1m x 1m square.

As a result of the comparatively recent abandonment of the site artifacts not only litter the surface but are mixed throughout the organic layer which covers the forest floor. This organic layer is composed of moss, pine cones, rotting vegetative debris and a small amount of gravel. For the purposes of excavation this layer was designated Level 1. To recover artifacts in Level 1 all material was screened through 6 mm (1/4 inch) mesh. Recovered artifacts, predominantly nails, were assigned to the various quads from which they were recovered but three-dimensional locations were not recorded.

Initially an attempt to excavate in natural levels (the excavation of the site according to the various discernable soil layers) was undertaken. This was ultimately abandoned in favour of arbitrary levels of 10 cm as the attempt to learn and apply Parks Canada's excavation methodology in conjunction with a general inexperience in excavating in natural levels proved too difficult. Each level was assigned a lot number and excavation continued until the bottom of the cultural deposits was reached. Due to the overwhelming recurrence of certain types of artifacts at the dumps on the eastern periphery of the site representative sampling was employed as a recovery technique. This is discussed further in Chapter 5.

#### 4.4.3 Feature Description

The features present at Camp #9 fall into one of four categories. Not all of these feature types were tested in the 2001 field season but do merit description. The most obvious of the features present at Camp #9 is the sole remaining standing structure, the cabin (see Figure 4.2).



Figure 4.2 Cabin at Camp #9 (Photo by author)

The second category of features is the foundation lines. Foundation lines, indicating the former presence of structures, compose the bulk of the features at Camp #9. All are rectilinear in shape and oriented to cardinal directions. The foundation lines occur in a variety of sizes. Three of these features were tested in the 2001 field season Operations 1, 6, and 7 which comprise 67% of the total excavation at the site (12 of 18 suboperations).

The third type of feature is the depressions. Numerous depressions occur on site, three of which were tested. A total of 5 suboperations were excavated at these locations, or 26% of the total amount of excavation. Two of the tested depressions are the remains of structures. Based on the discovery of decomposed fecal material one of



these structures was identified as the privy, Operation 3. A secondary structure, Operation 2, identified as the Laundry/Bathing House, also has an associated depression. Structural remains were discovered within the depression. Excavators discovered beams that transected the suboperation in an east-west orientation in addition to layers of saturated asphalt felt. The final depression, Operation 5, contained no structural remains and appears to have been a depression dug for the disposal of wet garbage.

The final feature category is the concentrated artifact collection. In both cases this represented dumps located on the eastern and southern peripheries of the site. Testing of the dump at the eastern periphery of the site was undertaken. Representative sampling of a 1 m<sup>2</sup> area at the dump resulted in the recovery of a substantial number of artifacts, the bulk of which were the remains of cans and bottles containing consumables. Selected artifacts from the dump on the southern periphery of the site, believed to be at risk of collection by tourists, were also recovered. Two complete bottles and one glass jar with metal screw top were collected. The eastern and southern dumps were assigned Operation numbers of 4 and 8, respectively.

#### *4.5 Operation Level Site Interpretation*

For the purposes of analysis it was decided to examine Camp #9 from the operational level. Interpretation of the site at the operational level is fundamentally based on information derived from the various excavated suboperations and ultimately through the examination of artifacts and features within the various suboperations. Based on this information identification of the function of the structures might be made. What follows is the examination of Camp #9 by operation.

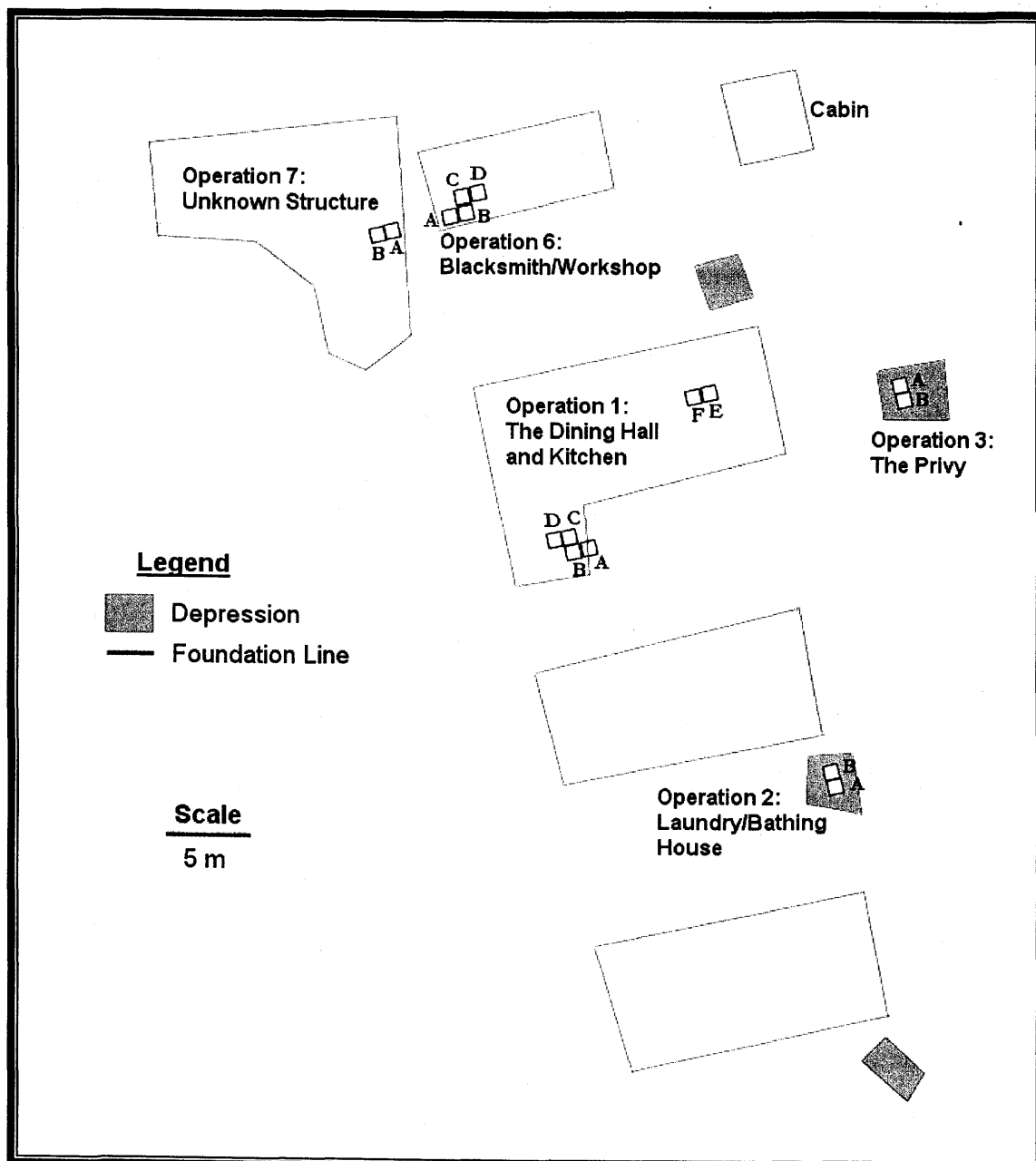


Figure 4.3 Central portion of site showing excavated suboperations (after map provided by LeDuc 2002).

#### 4.5.1 Operation 1: The Dining Hall and Kitchen (see Figure 4.3)

Operation 1 was located in an L-shaped building near the centre of the site and was the first structure to be tested upon the commencement of excavation in the 2001 field season. A total of six suboperations (A-F) were excavated within this structure; four at the western side of the short axis of the “L” shape (A-D); two within the longer

length of the building at the eastern end, (E-F). The rationale for the placement of suboperations A-D was to transect a foundation line and expose a portion of the floor along the inside wall for a length of 2 m. A fourth suboperation, D, was placed to the east of E in order to expose a more central section of the floor. Information from these suboperations was then used to derive the probable construction methodology for this building and assist in the identification of the purpose of this structure. This is discussed further in Chapter 6.

There is a distinct lack of artifacts derived from the cluster of suboperations A-D with a non-structural function. Items classified with a structural function are those items used in the construction of any structures. This would include items such as nails, wood, shingles, or hinges. One horseshoe nail, a button, fragments of glass lantern chimney and wire are the only artifacts with non-structural or unidentified functions recovered from these four suboperations. This material was located throughout level 2 and in the top 3 cm of level 3. Deposits ceased to yield cultural artifacts at an average depth of 13 cm in Operation 1. This point is also associated with the transition from structural remains into a fine ash layer with a mean thickness of 7 cm (see figure 4.4). Excavation within the northern quads of suboperations A and B to a depth of 65 cm produced no artifacts. This ash layer was then used as the indicator of culturally sterile deposits within this structure and Operation 6. In these two Operations excavation ceased upon encountering this layer.

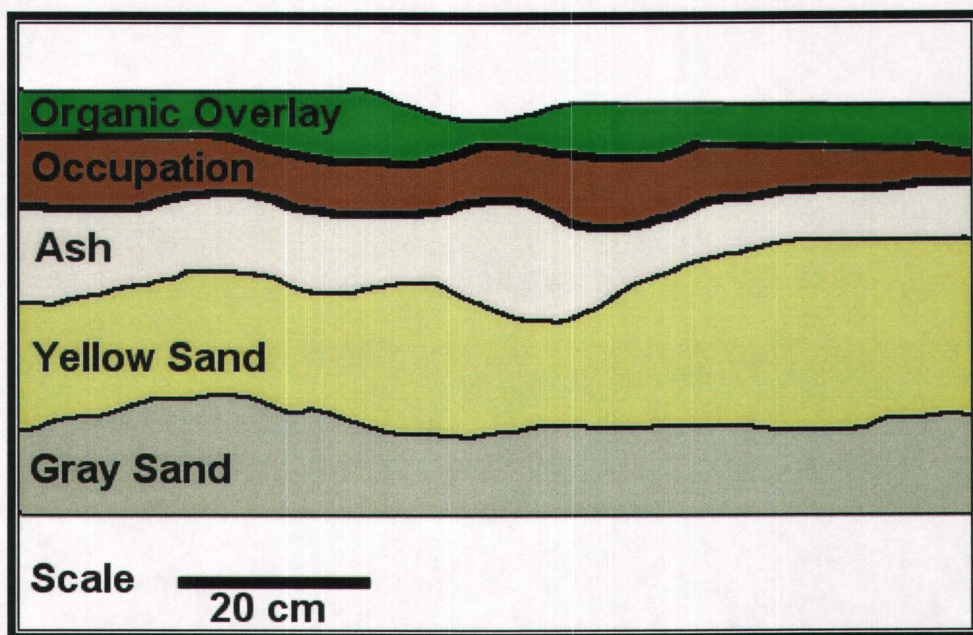


Figure 4.4 Profile of North Wall of 153N1B

Suboperations E and F were located in the centre of the western section of the long axis of the building. The rationale for placing these suboperations in this section was based on the lack of overlying vegetation. Moss growth predominates throughout the site except in a square location within the west central portion of Operation 1, measuring approximately 3m x 3m. After the beginning of excavation it was determined that the growth of moss occurred over rotting floorboards (see Figure 4.5).

The lack of moss growth was interpreted as indicating lack of floorboards within this region of the L-shaped building. Testing this theory was deemed worthwhile and two suboperations were opened. The suboperation transected the region lacking moss growth and the region in which it was present. The lack of moss growth did appear to be a result of the absence of floorboards. After removal of overlying organic debris a sandy earthen floor was uncovered.





Figure 4.5 Moss growth associated with rotting floorboards in Operation 1, facing west (photo by author)

This portion of the floor appeared to have been enclosed by a wooden frame, over which moss growth occurred. Among the items recovered from this region were a wire pot handle, the remains of a hare (*Lepus americanus*), and a coarsely woven fragment of cloth, possibly a washcloth. These items suggest that this area was the kitchen. The lack of a wooden floor can be interpreted as a means of maintaining sanitary conditions. The sand floor could absorb the general mishaps of food preparation. One of the advantages of an earthen floor is that periodically the camp men could be employed either adding a fresh layer of earth to the kitchen or replacing it altogether. This would seem to be the most cost effective way of maintaining sanitary conditions. A wooden floor would have to be sealed in some manner to prevent it from absorbing the spills or be covered with some form of linoleum. Evidence for either of these possibilities was not discovered but given the small area sampled these possibilities should not be precluded.

#### **4.5.2 Operation 2: The Laundry/Bathing House (see Figure 4.3)**

Operation 2 was located in a deep depression to the south of Operation 1. Upon initial investigation the depression measured approximately 2 m in depth. The conical appearance can be attributed to the collapse of soil into the depression itself. At the time of mapping the site the depression measured roughly 4 m by 4 m and had a vaguely discernable square orientation. A total of two suboperations were excavated within this operation. The placement of the suboperations was designed to sample the bottom of the depression and the lower portion of its northern slope. Initial investigation involved the removal of moss and organic debris followed by a thick layer of colluvium. Colluvial material originated from the walls and lip of the depression. The lack of preserved or decaying feces in conjunction with the discovery of substantial amounts of ash and charcoal resulted in the rejection of the Operation's identification as a privy. The ash and charcoal is indicative of the presence of a fire or a location for the disposal of these materials. Large amounts of decomposing wood were also discovered within the depression. This wood is interpreted as being structural elements due to the presence of drawn nails and the layers of saturated asphalt felt identical to that found in Operation 1.

#### **4.5.3 Operation 3: The Privy (see Figure 4.3)**

Five meters to the east of the dining hall and kitchen is a large depression designated Operation 3. Two suboperations were opened in this locale in the attempt to determine its function. The suboperations were located adjacent to one another forming a rectangle with the long axis running in a north-south orientation. The depression is rectilinear in shape with a sloped trough intersecting the north wall at an angle of 90°. Due to the narrowness of the trough and the presence of a large tree with exposed roots at the junction of the trough and north wall this feature may be a natural occurrence arising from drainage patterns. This trough is visible in the map provided by Parr and Lunn (see Figure 3.7).

Operation 3 was identified as the privy based on the discovery of decomposing feces within excavated deposits. In addition, this operation was the sole location in which the siding of the building was present. In several places in the direct vicinity of



this structure were sections of nailed wood siding. The desire to forego recycling of wood may be explained as a result of the psychologically unappealing aspect of reusing wood considered to be “dirty”.

Unlike the Laundry/Bathing House, the sides of the depression do not appear to have undergone as substantial an amount of slumping into the depression. The walls of the privy are comparatively square, measuring approximately 4 m by 4 m. It is apparent that the privy was designed to accommodate more than one person at a time, possibly four or six individuals, two or three to a side respectively. Initial excavation consisted of establishing the two suboperations and the removal of numerous large surface artifacts including several lengths of twisted machine-made wire, a barrel tie and a fragment of nailed wood that may have been part of a handle or locking mechanism for a door. The floor of the depression itself has an east-west W-shaped cross section. The central elevated hump bisects the centre of the privy in a north-south direction forming two receptacles, or holes, for waste on either side. Within the western trench were discovered the remains of decomposing feces and numerous artifacts, including a pair of leather boots, one rubber boot, decomposing fabric, a broken candle, and an articulated beaver element. The eastern trench was not tested.

Of particular note is the extremely shallow nature of the deposit within the western trench. Unlike some privies, which may have several meters of deposit, artifacts and decomposing feces were concentrated to a layer approximately 10 cm in depth, at the centre of the trench. Two possible explanations for this are considered. One possibility is the short occupation of Camp #9 - only a few years. The men living at the camp spent the bulk of their time outside of the camp itself engaged in various projects. Return to the camp for the use of the privy while working seems unlikely. The combination of the privy's use while men were in camp in conjunction with the camp's use for only a portion of the year may explain the shallow nature of the deposit. Another possibility considered is that the privy may have been periodically emptied by way of the trough to the north of the structure. The central elevated hump within the privy may have been employed to keep the individual assigned with this unfortunate task as clean as possible. One possible modification of this explanation is that the privy was cleaned out prior to the camp's closure, each year, after the winter relief season

ended in April. The feces could be allowed to decompose on site over the summer months without proving a psychological or health concern. This would result in no annual digging of privies at the camp.

#### **4.5.4 Operation 4: The Dry Dump (see Figure 4.6)**

Located 58 m east of the privy is the dry dump measuring roughly 3 m in diameter and 75 cm in height at its centre. The dump is a collection of almost entirely metal and glass refuse. One faunal element was recovered during the sampling of the dump. Only one suboperation was opened at this location. Due to the mass of artifacts anticipated being collected from this sole suboperation it was determined to undertake representative sampling. Artifacts were removed from a 1 m x 1 m square area and sorted according to material type, either glass or metal. Volunteers were employed sorting each material type into groups of identical artifacts. Any unique object was cataloged and returned to the lab for analytical purposes. Objects with multiple representatives were sorted, photographed, and, on the basis of preservation, the best representative retained for analytical purposes. In the case of tobacco tins that still had legible labels occasionally two or more representative samples were kept. This strategy was employed in order to acquire as much of the labels on the tins as possible. Artifacts were removed in this manner until the ground surface was exposed throughout the suboperation. Excavation of the southeast quad was undertaken in order to test for the possibility of subsurface artifacts. Excavation occurred to a depth of 15 cm without the recovery of artifacts. Once this undertaking was complete those materials not retained for analytical purposes were returned to the dump. The presence of 126 condensed milk cans recovered during the sampling accorded an opportunity for easy demarcation of the suboperation for future archaeologists. Two courses of milk cans were placed in a standing position around the periphery of the suboperation and all material not retained for analytical purposes placed within this confined area.

Of particular note in the sampling of the dry dump is that no complete glass bottles were present anywhere on its surface. The recovery of 11 complete bottles from within the sampled area suggests that looting of bottles has occurred over time. The

possibility that the men assigned garbage disposal duty deliberately placed complete glass bottles underneath metal containers seems unlikely. Mixing of the contents of the dump as a result of differences in expansion and contraction rates associated with variations in temperature may be a possibility but does not explain why broken glass occurred on both the surface and within the dump. The likely explanation for the absence of bottles can be attributed to collection by tourists visiting the site, or by those owning cabins along the Narrows Road.

#### **4.5.5 Operation 5: The Wet Dump (see Figure 4.6)**

Approximately 15 m east of the dry dump are two depressions, each 1.5 m deep. After preliminary examination, the northern depression was selected for sampling. A methodology similar to that used at the dry dump was employed. An initial attempt to determine if a discernible transition from surface to subsurface materials was undertaken. Organic debris was removed followed by the systematic removal of artifacts. Due to the narrow confines of the depression the corners of the suboperation were located on the lower slope of the depression's sides. The starting depth at which artifact removal commenced was 23 cm. Artifacts from this level were contained in a moist, dark matrix composed of decaying organic matter and eroded soil from the walls of the depression. At a depth of approximately 35 cm a transition into more compact soil occurred. As a result of the size and concentration of artifacts within the depression arbitrary levels of 20 cm were established for the purposes of excavation. Exact provenience was recorded for only select artifacts. Fragments of faunal remains, nails, seeds and small shards of glass were assigned to the quads and levels from which they originated. Larger items such as kitchen utensils and bottles were assigned three-dimensional locations within the suboperation.

After the excavation of all quads to the bottom of level 2 the northern quads were selected for excavation to sterile soil. A large artifact sample was recovered from the preceding levels and assumed to be representative for the remaining levels. The southern quads were abandoned and, although artifact removal continued, the focus for excavation of the northern quads shifted to an examination for the evidence of structural elements. At a depth of 80 cm cultural materials abruptly ceased with the encountering

of a compact, chalky gray clay level whose interface with the cultural material above showed staining from rusting metal refuse.

This location proved to have the most diverse range of artifacts recovered at Camp #9. Of particular interest is the concentration of items associated with the kitchen including the bulk of faunal remains, kitchenware, plum pits and eggshells. It is on the basis of the recovery of these items that the location was designated a wet dump. The rationale for the use of a pit for the disposal of this material is unclear. With the bulk of site occupation occurring during winter and given the distance of the camp the smell of rotting garbage should not be an issue. One possibility is that the dump for the wet garbage was dug as a deterrent for animals. Although an enticing location for an easy meal, any animals would have to negotiate getting into and out of the pit.

One explanation, provided by one of the participants in the tour who spent over a decade working in mining camps, is that the method of garbage disposal may represent a change in supervision at the site. Based on his personal experience there are diverse attitudes towards the disposal of garbage at mining camps. In one case a supervisor mandated the sorting of refuse and digging of pits for the disposal of garbage that may represent possible health hazards. The following supervisor dictated that garbage simply be thrown in the bush at a reasonable distance from the mining operation itself. If this were the case at Camp #9 then, one might expect to find an intermixing of garbage types at both the dry and wet dumps. Although no evidence for this was discovered the suggestion of varying disposal patterns associated with changes in supervision at the site is intriguing.

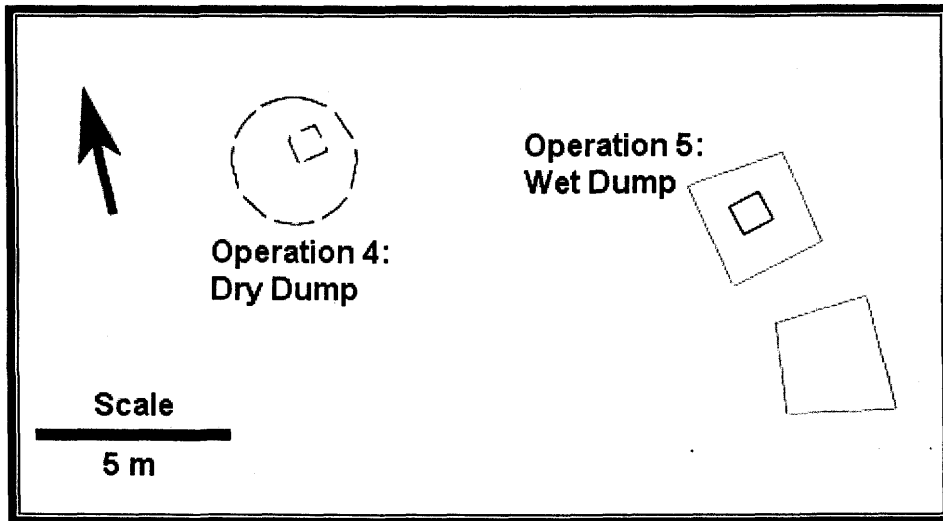


Figure 4.6 Operations 4 and 5, eastern dumps showing suboperations (after map provided by Leduc 2002)

#### 4.5.6 Operation 6: Blacksmith/Work Shop (see Figure 4.3)

Located 10 m north of the kitchen and dining hall is a small structure measuring 4 m by 10 m. Initially not detected due to its small size, this structure abuts a large rectilinear depression to the immediate west and the cabin to the east. A total of four suboperations were excavated at this location. Two of these suboperations were designed to sample the most southwest corner and a 2 m section along the inside of the south wall. The remaining two suboperations were located 1 m north and 1 m east of those against the wall and were intended to sample a central portion of the structure.

Artifact recovery occurred in an area concentrated in the top 15 cm of the deposit. A substantial number of nails, broken glass and large quantities of rotting wood were intermixed with the 3 cm overlaying mossy organic material making the screening of this level necessary. The removal of this material resulted in the exposure of large quantities of rotting wood underlain by a layer of saturated asphalt felt. Excavation proceeded throughout the operation to a maximum depth of 27 cm, upon the exposure of the ash layer discovered in the kitchen and dining hall. Unlike the dining hall and kitchen construction at this location differed somewhat with the inclusion of floor joists. These joists were embedded within the ash layer with an associated intermixing of ash and the formerly overlaying strata occurring to either side of the

joists. This suggests that the joists were in direct contact with the ground. No foundation stones, cement block, or postholes were discovered in the excavated corner of the operation, which indicates that the suspension of the floor above the ground probably did not occur. This is inconsistent with suggested building methodologies for the construction of long-term buildings in this era (see Holtman 1929: 239-249). The construction of temporary buildings is likely a need to keep costs as low as possible in conjunction with the desire to be able to collapse and recover building materials to relocate the camp if necessary. Another possibility is a belief that the Depression would end relatively quickly making the construction of more permanent buildings pointless. In either case the lack of large amounts of wood surrounding the site or large amounts of collapsed material within the structures themselves is suggestive of the general recycling of construction material at the time of abandonment of the site.

Suboperations A and B exhibited comparatively sparse artifact concentrations relative to C and D. Artifact types recovered from the former locations is consistent with those artifacts recovered from Operation 1. Large numbers of construction-related materials such as nails, windowpane glass and some wire were recovered. Suboperations C and D, in contrast, yielded a diversity of artifacts and unique features. Most notable of the features is a large concentration of beach sand containing bits of metal, glass and fused sand, which appeared to have been contained in a wooden frame with a metal-lined base (see figure 4.7).



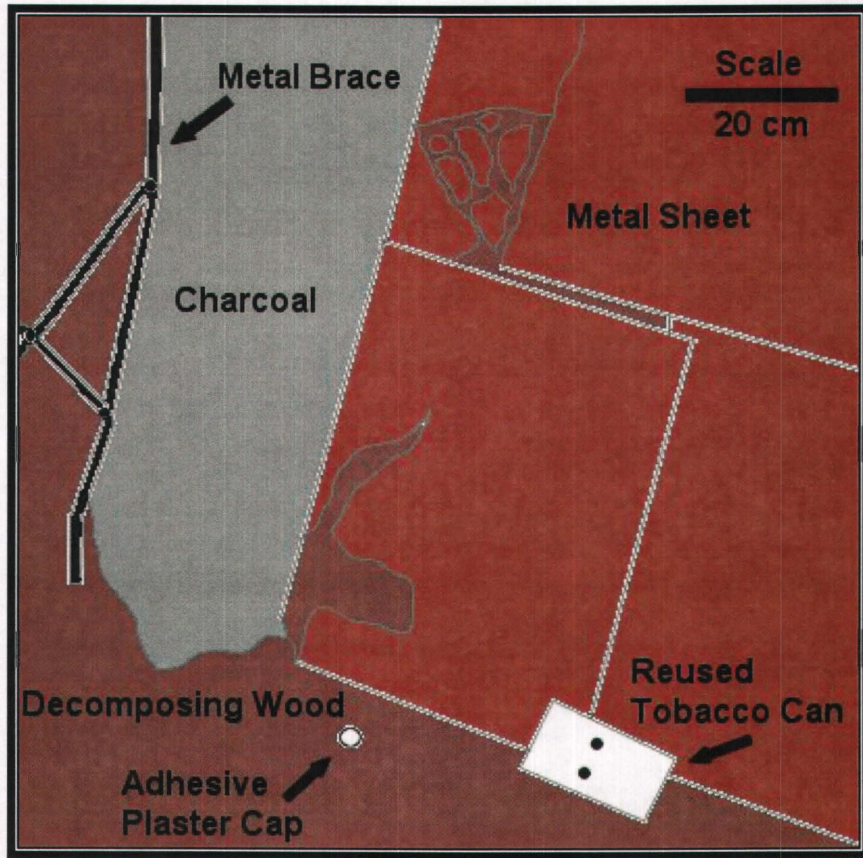


Figure 4.7 Planview of 153N6D

This particular feature was disturbed by a large root from a nearby tree whose growth caused the uplifting and fragmentation of the metal sheets lining the western portion of this feature. Additionally, the beach sand in conjunction with the presence of moisture resulted in the severe corrosion of the metal sheets making their whole removal from the feature impossible. Adjacent to this was a large charcoal stain containing chunks of charcoal.

#### 4.5.7 Operation 7: Unknown Feature (see Figure 4.3)

To the east of Operation 6 is a large rectilinear area cutting into the northern section of the site to a depth of 1.5 m below the grade of the remainder of the site. This feature abuts the west wall of Operation 6 and was hypothesized to be a barn. Two suboperations were excavated adjacent to one another with the long axis of the rectangle oriented in a north-south direction. Suboperation A, the more southern of the

two excavated suboperations, was positioned to test the region at the base of the slope rising to the grade of the remainder of the site. Suboperation B was placed to test what was perceived to be the potential floor of the structure. The sole artifact recovered from these suboperations was a surface-collected vacuum-sealed tobacco can rim, which was present as a likely result of falling from the top of the slope. Excavation occurred throughout the site to a total depth of 20 cm below surface without the recovery of artifacts. The south-east quad of suboperation A was further tested to a level of 40 cm without any discernible change in stratigraphy or recovery of artifacts.

#### **4.5.8 Operation 8: Southern Dump**

The location of the final Operation at Camp #9 is at the extreme southern periphery of the site. Unlike the dry dump, which is highly visible, the southern dump is in a more secluded location and hidden under more vegetation and decaying organic material. Additionally the garbage is not piled, as is the case with the dry dump, but spread out in a more diffuse pattern, thus not easily identifiable at a casual glance. Although no artifacts were recovered that irrefutably link this dump with Camp #9, the association with the relief camp can be assumed through the general similarity of composition of artifacts and the lack of other structures within the area which may have generated this refuse pile. Both dumps did have identical milk and paint cans. Unlike the dry dump the southern dump contained numerous complete bottles at the surface. Selected sampling of the bottles was undertaken to mitigate the possibility of collection by tourists. If this dump can be considered as representative of refuse composition at the time of abandonment of the site in terms of surface artifact heterogeneity then the looting of bottles from the dry dump is highly probable.

The excavation in the previously mentioned operations permitted some assessment as to the function of many of the structures. As a result of establishing the identity of some of the structures, hypothesis as to the identity of unexcavated structures during the 2001 field season was also possible. This is discussed further in chapter 6. In the following chapter the analysis of artifacts provides additional evidence for structure identification while establishing the context for an examination of the role of consumer behaviour at Camp #9.



## **Chapter 5**

### **Artifact Analysis**

#### *5.1 Classification of Artifacts: The Parks Canada System*

Since the project occurred within a National Park the classification of artifacts recovered from Camp #9 necessarily utilized a system developed within Parks Canada. The system is a two-tiered hierarchy with the primary level of classification being more amenable to requirements for museum collections management rather than archaeology. For the purposes of artifact analysis numerical values are assigned as descriptors for both hierarchical levels and for attribute application. Thus, in the process of artifact analysis, the generation of 20 numerical descriptors of the artifact's classification, function and qualitative and quantitative attributes was not uncommon. The use of numerical values versus word descriptors facilitates computer-assisted data management. Microsoft's Access was chosen for the purposes of data entry in order to allow the broadest range of options for data manipulation. Due to the ease with which data may be exported from Access into Excel or SPSS (Statistical Package for the Social Sciences), an array of data manipulation functions was available at the time of analysis.

The primary level of classification of an artifact is its assignment to an *analysis class*. All artifacts are assigned to one of 17 different classes, not all of which are

represented in the archaeological assemblage from Camp #9. Classes used during the analysis of the Camp #9 assemblage and their definitions are as follows (see Table 5.1):

CLASS	DESCRIPTION
Lithic	Human made stone objects and the material remaining from their manufacture.
Glass	Object made from glass except window glass. Includes containers and other objects with detachable metal components (eg. Lids).
Nail	All types of driven fasteners identified as a nail, tack or spike.
Fastener	All fasteners except nails including washers, nuts, screws etc.
Other Metal	All metal objects that do not fit in the other classes.
Fauna	All fauna that is butchered or otherwise not culturally modified.
Ammunition	Paraphernalia related to arms, including bullets, shell casings, musket balls, etc.
Metal Container	All containers made of metal, regardless of function.
Pane Glass	Window glass and unidentified flat glass fragments.
Sample	Material taken from site for testing including flora, fauna and soil.
Miscellaneous	Any culturally modified object that doesn't fit into the above class. Primarily used for composite and organic artifacts.

Table 5.1: Analysis Class and Description (after Parks Canada Coding Manual 2001)

This hierarchical level generates little information of analytical value from an archaeological perspective. Attempts to reconstruct past human behaviours are not possible with this level of classification as a result of the disproportionate weight given to select artifacts and the merging of artifacts with different functions into the same class based on material type. For example, all metal containers are considered as one

class irrespective of function. A condensed milk can, tobacco tin, paint can or metal condom case would all be considered as one class by virtue of the fact that they are all metal and are all designed to contain something. Each of the above items, however, elucidates different aspects of human behaviour: consumption, socialization/addiction, construction/art, or sex, respectively. When considered in the context of attempting to conserve these items or display them in a museum, this method of classification is understandable.

The second level of classification of artifacts, using the Parks Canada system, is the designation of the *function code*. A total of 57 different function codes exist within this system which are designed with the intent of determining past human behaviours while at the same time being as mutually exclusive as possible. This system appears to be loosely based on the functional classification system proposed by Roderick Sprague (see Sprague 1981). Thus, artifacts from several different classes may be assigned the same function. For example a table knife, ceramic plate, glass ketchup bottle and metal salt shaker would all be assigned to the function of food serving or preparation even though they would be considered in different analysis classes. Some of the functional groups used in the analysis of the Camp #9 assemblage include: animal husbandry, illumination and power, and alcohol consumption. A cautionary note must be presented when considering the function of an item in the context of Camp #9, or any archaeological assemblage. Unless recognisable modification of an artifact is present suggesting a new function then the original intended function of the object is assumed. Consequently, the finding of a tobacco can is interpreted as the presence of tobacco at the site. Although the tobacco can could be reused after its original contents are emptied to hold nails, prop open a window or for boiling water, unless obvious evidence exists for the can's new function these possibilities are not considered.

Unfortunately, the analysis of any archaeological assemblage invariably results in the inability to assign functions to artifacts. When function cannot be assigned to an artifact the artifact is thus described based on its material type(s). In some cases, as in the recovery of glass bottles, the original content may not be readily identifiable and other sources of evidence for content must be considered.

As in the preceding chapter, the following discussing of artifacts at Camp #9 will be provided at an operation level. Artifacts are considered in the context of each structure or depression from which they originated with the intent of attempting to assist in the determination of that suboperation's function (for a breakdown of artifact distribution by operation see Appendix B). A subsidiary element to this analysis is the identification of tobacco cans and alcohol bottles for the purposes of elucidating site identification and aspects of socialization, respectively. For the purposes of clarity, in the following description of artifacts the Parks Canada definition of each function group will be provided prior to discussion. Definitions for function groups will only be provided the first time a new group is introduced. All definitions are derived from the *Parks Canada Coding Manual: Artifact Analysis Manual for Historic Archaeology, 2001 Update* (PCCM). The preparation of artifacts for analysis adhered to Parks Canada methodologies. For a detailed description of these methodologies see *Collections Management Guideline for Contractors: Processing, Inventorying, Cataloguing and Packing of Artifacts and Research Records* (1991).

## **5.2 Operation 1: The Dining Hall and Kitchen**

### **5.2.1 Animal Husbandry**

"Tools and equipment used in the care, raising and processing of animals" (PCCM 2001:1). One unused horseshoe nail located in the western portion of this structure is the only artifact to be classified into this function group at Camp #9 (see Figure 5.1).

### **5.2.2 Fauna**

"Faunal remains that have not been modified for a cultural use. Includes butchered and burned bone" (PCCM 2001:1). The remains of one hare (*Lepus americanus*) is the only representative within this function group in Operation 1. Portions of the left and right hind leg, innominate (bones forming the hips and pelvis), vertebral column and ribs were recovered from the eastern portion of this structure in association with the earth floor described in the previous chapter (see Figure 5.1). The remains do not show clear evidence for cause of death, butchering or alteration by other

animals (Ernie Walker, personal communication, 2001). It should be noted also that outside of Parks Canada many archaeologists consider butchered and burned bone forms of cultural modification.

### 5.2.3 Hardware

“Distinctive, non-decorative, architectural components such as door locks” (PCCM 2001:1). A hinge pin, located in suboperation C at the western portion of the site is the only representative of this function group.

### 5.2.4 Construction Nails

“Nails used to fasten all sorts of material generally associated with structural remains. Special nails such as upholstery tacks are placed in the relevant function” (PCCM 2001:1). Nails represent the bulk, by number, of the artifacts recovered from this structure. All are wire drawn nails ranging in size from 35 mm to 155 mm, only 6% (10 of 166) are roofing nails, 1 finishing nail and the remaining all common wire drawn nails. Due to the relatively young age of the site all nails are complete with good to excellent preservation. In the following operation descriptions construction nails will no longer be described but a table detailing nail attributes is provided at the end of this chapter (see table 5.2).

### 5.2.5 Hardware Fasteners

“Non-nail fasteners used in the construction of any type of structure” (PCCM 2001:1). One length of metal wire similar to that used in conventional chain-link fencing was recovered from the western end of operation 1. It is bent and twisted to form a loop at one end and found in direct association with the shattered remains of a glass lantern chimney. This suggests that the wire may have been used as a means of suspending the lantern.

### 5.2.6 Structural Material

“Material used in the construction of permanent and portable structures” (PCCM 2001:1). Two samples from features in the western portion of operation 1 and a large

grommet compose this function group. The recovered samples include a portion of the wood floor and a portion of a black tar-like layer associated with the floor. Microscopic analysis of the tar-like layer revealed small bubbles interpreted as the result of heating. All examples of this material from structures at Camp #9 also exhibited the small bubbles. With the lack of burned wood or charcoal in operation 1 it is assumed that the bubbles are a result of the production of this material and not caused by heating or melting through activities undertaken at the camp. The lack of a discernable structure within the layers of this material in conjunction with examination of construction literature from this period led to the identification of this material as saturated asphalt felt. Saturated asphalt felt was recommended as a means of waterproofing structures (Holtman 1929:452).

#### 5.2.7 Illumination and Power

“Portable or fixed objects used for illumination or the transmission and generation of electrical power. This includes unidentified electrical components” (PCCM 2001:1). The shattered remains of a glass lantern chimney and portion of either a metal air distributor plate or deflector were recovered (see Woodhead et al 1984:48-57). The lantern chimney is purely utilitarian, lacking any ornamentation or pattern and, based on the rim and base fragments, is identical to the lantern chimney recovered from operation 4. The recovery of these items assist in linking the use of operation 1 and operation 4 to the same period (see Figure 5.14).

#### 5.2.8 Household Cleaning and Maintenance

“Tools, materials and related packaging used to clean or maintain the living areas and objects contained by these areas” (PCCM 2001:1). A piece of well preserved coarsely woven cloth was recovered in the eastern portion of operation 1 associated with the earthen floor. Based on the weave and size of the cloth (described as plain oblique interlacing or “plain braiding”, (Emery 1966:63)), which appears to be complete, and associated artifacts and features, this item was likely a kitchen washcloth (see Figure 5.1).



### 5.2.9 Clothing Fasteners

“Objects used to fasten articles of clothing together (eg. buttons, belts, suspenders and pins)” (PCCM 2001:2). One small, white, 2 hole glass button was recovered from the western portion of this structure.

### 5.2.10 Unknown

“1) Objects that cannot be identified. 2) Identified objects that cannot be given a specific function (eg. Rope can be placed in a number of different functions)” (PCCM 2001:1). Only a few artifacts recovered from operation 1 are relegated to the category of unknown function. Four pieces of curved glass found at a distance from the concentration of lantern chimney glass fall into this category. Another artifact included in this category is a curved metal wire. This item was discovered in the eastern portion of the structure in association with the earth floor. Both ends of the wire are flattened on the inside edge, probably for the purposes of attachment to another object (see Figure 5.2). A likely interpretation is that this item is a pot handle but the lack of corroborating evidence for this resulted in its designation to the unknown function group.

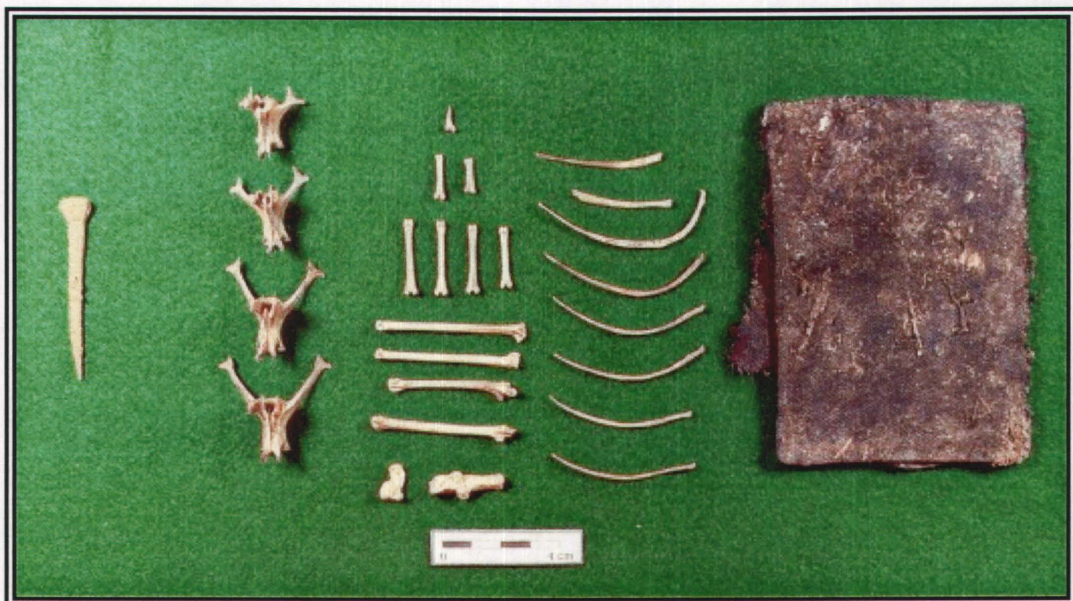


Figure 5.1 Horseshoe nail, *Lepus americanus* remains, washcloth from operation 1.



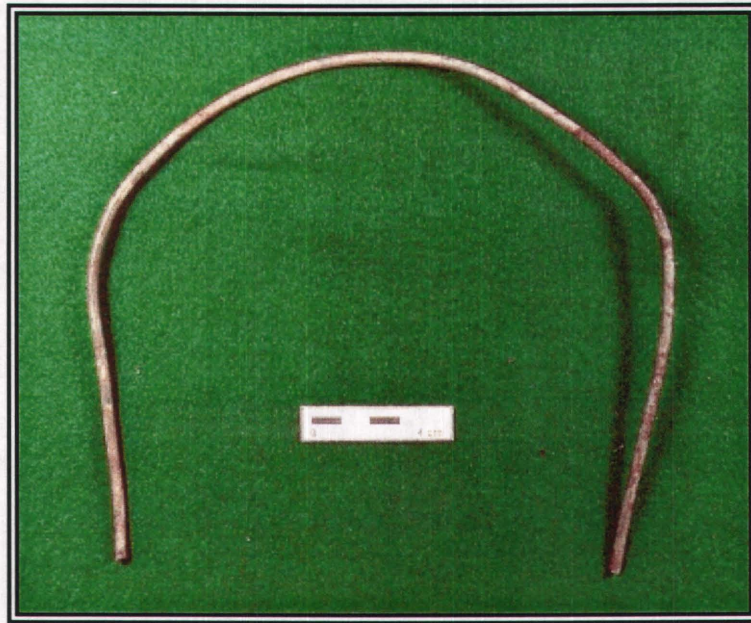


Figure 5.2 Pot Handle from operation 1.

### 5.3 Operation 2: The Laundry/Bathing House

#### 5.3.1 Ammunition

“Ammunition for any type of weapon including ordinance (eg. Artillery). Includes related packaging and the non-industrial tools used to produce and maintain ammunition (eg. Crimpers, bullet moulds, powder kegs)” (PCCM 2001:1). Five, 22-calibre cartridges were discovered in the excavation of operation 2. They were in direct association with a highly fragmented slip-top tin can lid, several buttons, and decomposing fabric. All are centre fire and have an inscribed “D” on their base, the logo of the Dominion Cartridge Company. The Dominion Cartridge Company started manufacturing these bullets in 1918 - 1938 (Parks Canada 1977) (see Figure 5.3).





Figure 5.3 22-calibre cartridges.

#### 5.3.2 Hardware

Two lengths of twisted wire were recovered identical to that found in operation 1. Both lengths were looped and interpreted as possibly being designed for the suspension of a lantern as was the case in operation 1.

#### 5.3.3 Construction Nails

A small sample of nails was recovered from operation 2. Due to the depth of the deposit, which acts to collect water, the condition of the recovered nails is of poorer quality than those found in operation 1. For details see table 5.2.

#### 5.3.4 Clothing Fasteners

A total of 8 buttons and 1 zipper head were recovered. All of the buttons are metal, 4 of which have the “GWG” logo visible in relief on the surface. Based on a similarity in style and measurements the remaining 5 buttons are assumed to be a product of the GWG Company as well. The zipper head is inscribed with “ACME” (see Figure 5.4).





Figure 5.4 Metal GWG buttons.

### 5.3.5 Tobacco

A highly fragmented slip top tin can lid was discovered. Although no crests or labels were present indicating its definitive identification as a tobacco can lid its attribution to the tobacco category is based on its style. This includes the width and thickness of the outside edge and similar curvature in comparison to other tobacco cans.

### 5.3.6 Personal Medical

“Medications, their associated containers and medically-related tools intended for personal use. This includes over the counter and prescription preparations” (PCCM 2001:2). A small threaded twist cap for an ointment container, possibly from a squeezable tube, is the only artifact within this category. The cap is T-shaped in cross section with the top diameter measuring approximately twice that of the height. The outer edge of the cap is incised and a stylized logo is present in relief on its top. The logo is composed of 4 letters, U-D-C-O and likely represents the company’s initials, either DUCO or UDCO (see Figure 5.5).





Figure 5.5 Twist Cap

#### 5.3.7 Unknown

Several different artifacts of varying material types represent this category. Twenty-one thin curved shards of glass of unknown function were recovered during excavation. All are undecorated colourless body shards. Initially presumed to be fragments of lantern chimney upon examination this now seems unlikely. The glass lantern chimneys recovered from operations 1 and 4 had a thickness of 2.2 mm whereas the glass recovered from operation 2 had a thickness of only 0.9 mm. The thickness of the glass suggests the original artifact was fairly fragile and was not intended for frequent handling. The other artifacts represented in this category include a threaded tin can lid, several tin can fragments, likely from the same can, and a curved cylindrical metal object, possibly a construction element.

### 5.4 Operation 3: The Privy

#### 5.4.1 Food Storage

“Containers and materials used to store food before and after processing. This includes multi-use container (i.e. containers used for both cooking and storing)” (PCCM 2001:1). A highly fragmented red and white foil label advertising “Free Running Salt”



produced in Unity, Saskatchewan was discovered in the excavation of the privy. The label was highly fragmented and, unfortunately, the name of the company did not survive. In addition, the surface find of a medium sized open top tin can is represented within this category. The can was opened by cutting into the top forming an X shape that extends the entire diameter of the can. The triangular sections were then bent outwards. This manner of opening the can suggests that the contents were not entirely liquid and that the opening had to accommodate the exit of larger items. Based on a sample menu from a relief camp in Riding Mountain National Park the remains found at Camp #9 the contents may have been canned tomatoes or plums (National Archives of Canada, RG22, v.588 R4-144).

#### 5.4.2 Fauna

The privy was the only other structure at Camp #9 to contain faunal remains, represented by the complete, articulated right hind limb element and one rib of a juvenile beaver. The remains do not show evidence of butchering or alteration by other animals. Some root etching is present (Ernie Walker, personal communication, 2001).

#### 5.4.3 Hardware Fasteners

Again, a length of twisted metal wire forming a loop at one end was recovered from the privy. This item was a surface find found within the privy depression at the beginning of the excavation of the unit and may represent an intrusive artifact. This artifact differs slightly from the previously mentioned lengths of twisted wire in that there are three component parts. Three wires are present, linked to one another.

#### 5.4.4 Structural Material

Several types of artifacts are represented within this category. Most numerous are the fragments of wire mesh which predominated in the southeast quad suboperation B. The mesh has fragmented into numerous small parts with two segments pierced by roofing nails. The mesh was likely a cover for openings within the privy to allow for ventilation while keeping insects and rodents out. Additionally, a small segment of rubber punctured by two roofing nails was also recovered from the same area. This



could represent the remains of a roofing shingle or, possibly, a rubber door hinge. Finally, a portion of a wooden handle or locking mechanism is represented within this category. If nailed directly to a flat surface without some intermediate wooden blocks the open space created would be too small to accommodate a hand. In addition the narrow space between the ends of attachment can accommodate only two or three fingers. As such, this item is interpreted as a component of a slide locking mechanism similar to that appearing in Henry Glassie's 1975 work on vernacular architecture in Virginia (see Figure 5.6).

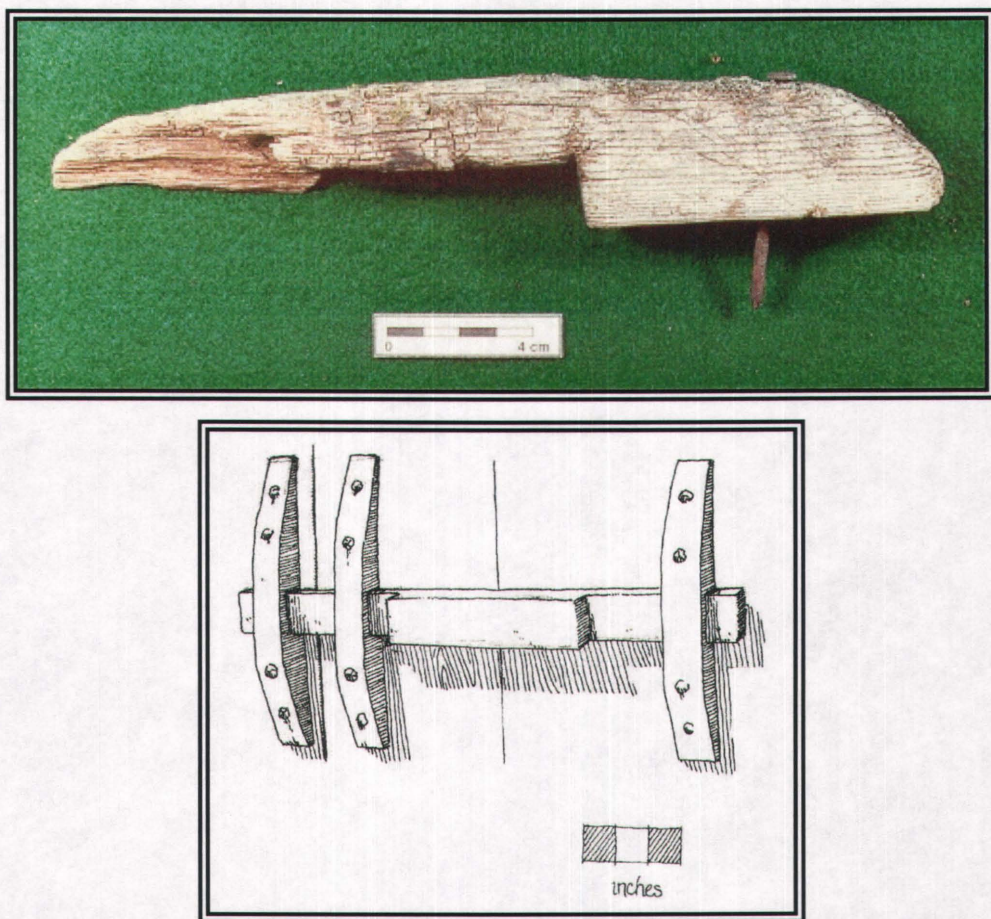


Figure 5.6 Wood lock and diagram (after Glassie 1975:132)

#### 5.4.5 Illumination and Power

Three broken fragments from a single wax candle (see Figure 5.7) were recovered from the privy. The base portion appears to have been deliberately melted



onto a flat surface, possibly a piece of metal or wood. The wick is no longer present. The candle's presence within the privy is the likely result of a clumsy hand on a winter night.



Figure 5.7 Candle

#### 5.4.6 Clothing

“Artifacts used to cover the body whether functional or decorative. This includes related non-adornment accessories (e.g. scarves)” (PCCM 2001:2). The items within this category represent some of the most exciting discoveries during the 2001 field season at Camp #9. A pair of leather boots (see Figure 5.8) and one left rubber boot (see Figure 5.9) were recovered from the suboperation B in the privy. The leather boots were found together and are in fairly poor condition possibly explaining their deliberately disposal in the privy. The poor condition is also due, in part, to post-depositional processes, damage from rotting, fungus growth etc., but the heel of one boot shows numerous shoe nails. The presence of this many nails may be a result of attempts to patch or repair the boot.





Figure 5.8 Leather Boots



Figure 5.9 Rubber boot with repairs



Documentary evidence, which credits poor footwear as a source of complaint from the men in PANP relief camps, supports the interpretation of repair (Waiser 1995:92). The rubber boot, in comparison, does show clear indications of repair. This can be credited to the durability of rubber in wet conditions in contrast to leather. The rubber boot shows several examples of patching and, based on the finding of a buckle used to tighten the boot in suboperation A, the reason for disposal may be the buckle's having broken off. In addition to these two major finds several fragmentary pieces of the right leather boot were also recovered. Also, two strips of rubber, possible used as straps for the rubber boot were recovered from the extreme northwest corner of suboperation A.

#### 5.4.7 Clothing Fasteners

A myriad of clothing fasteners were recovered (see Figure 5.10), predominantly from suboperation A, of the privy. An inscribed "FALCON" zipper head, a complete side of zipper teeth, metal buttons akin to the GWG buttons recovered from the Laundry/Bathing House, and a variety of plastic and one mother of pearl buttons were recovered. All of these items were found in association with highly decomposed fabric. Due to the condition of the fabric the recovery of a sample for further analysis was not possible. Excavation through the fabric was undertaken and, at that time, an initial identification of wool was established. The recovery of several large, black, four-hole plastic buttons from this feature suggests that the original article of clothing may have been a winter jacket. The size and style of the buttons are consistent with those expected to be employed on a winter jacket to close it or, to seal a fabric flap overlaying a zipper.



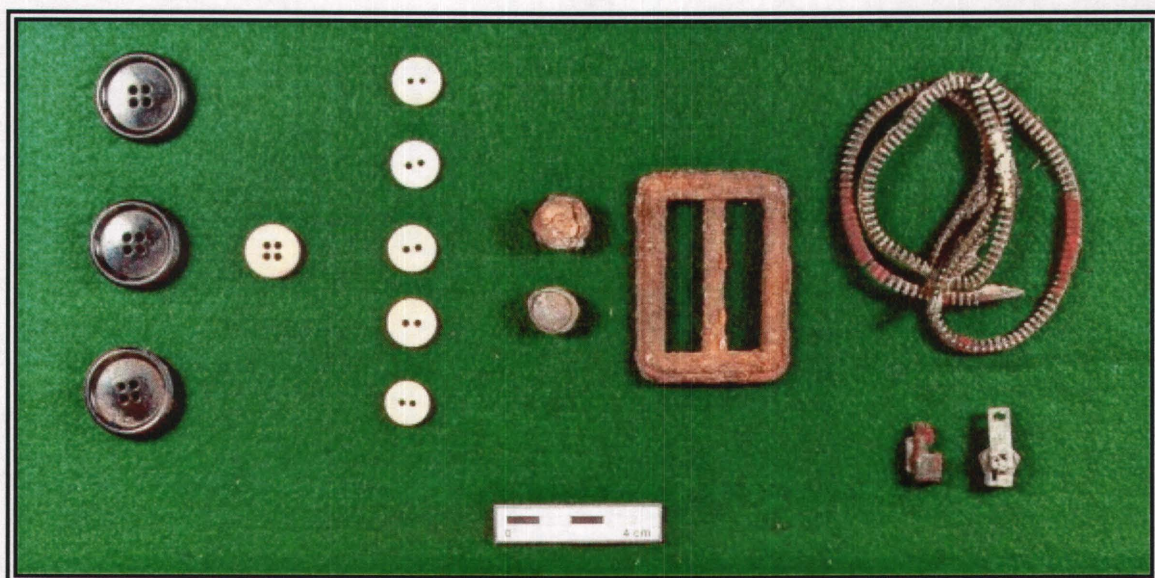


Figure 5.10 Buttons, zippers and belt buckle from Operation 3

Alternating segments of red and green fabric remains adhering to the zipper teeth suggest that the jacket may have been of a plaid design. The finding of six small white two and four hole buttons in addition to five metal and three large black buttons suggest more than one article of clothing may be represented by the decomposing fabric layer. The loss of some of the buttons into the privy is also the likely result of the process of unbuttoning garments prior to urination and/or defecation.

#### 5.4.8 Stone Tool Manufacture

“Tools, equipment and materials used in the manufacture of lithic tools. Includes manufacturing debris and raw materials” (PCCM 2001:3). A small fragment of chert shatter was recovered from the privy. Given the presence of some gravel on site this artifact may be the product of glacial till as opposed to actual cultural material.

#### 5.4.9 Unknown

Several unknown items were recovered during the excavation of this operation. All are metal. Several tin can fragments were recovered, one of which contains writing in relief. Due to the poor preservation the letters are nearly illegible. They appear to be a portion of a word written on the base of a slip-lid can top. Some effort went into an



attempt to decipher the lettering without success. In addition there was a metal barrel tie and a curved fragment of corroded wire.

## **5.5 Operation 4: The Dry Dump**

### **5.5.1 Food Storage**

By far, the largest category represented at the dry dump is items related to food storage. Within this category, condensed milk cans predominate. One hundred nine cans (11.7 cm in height, 7.4 cm in diameter) containing unknown food and 22 condensed milk cans (11.1 cm in height and 7.4 cm in diameter) are represented. The unknown food cans are open top and the condensed milk cans are hole in top. The cans are either hacked open or punctured twice on opposing sides along the top rim, respectively. The small puncture is suggestive of a desire to have a slow flow of liquid contents from the can itself (see Figure 5.11). This is likely the result of the cans being punctured and placed on the dining table for the purposes of adding milk to tea or coffee. Those cans that are hacked open have either side of the opening bent inwards. Based on the size of the opening the contents of the can were either liquid or relatively small and flowed easily. Opening of the cans does not appear to have been done by can-opener but either by hatchet or, more likely, driving a large knife into the top of the can and levering back and forth to expand the opening.





Figure 5.11 Milk can with puncture

In addition to these cans one large, rectangular corned beef can originating in Argentina was recovered from the dry dump. Maker's marks are still present on the base of the can and the base reads "R. ARGENTINA, M. DEA EST. '74, INSPECTIONADO".

#### 5.5.2 Food Preparation

"Objects used to process food material for consumption. This includes containers and utensils" (PCCM 2001:1). Several different artifacts relating to food preparation were discovered during the excavation of this suboperation. Two complete glass ketchup bottles, one produced by the Dominion Glass Company and the other by the H.J. Heinz Company, were recovered. Additionally, one small complete jam jar is represented within this function group. A broken rectangular spatula with wooden handle was also recovered. The spatula bears no discernable maker's marks. Finally, of particular interest is the recovery of an item interpreted as a condiment container with a US patent number inscribed on the bottom was discovered (see Figure 5.12). The container is rectangular in shape and composed entirely of metal. A seam is present on one side and the artifact has two tops. The primary top is a threaded circular twist top with a "B" written in relief on its surface. This portion of the can is attached to a square



slip lid top. Although the circular top could not be removed due to rust it is assumed that this portion covers a perforated plate designed to control the flow of contents out of the container. The slip top portion is removable for the purposes of refilling. Although the US patent number is not entirely legible enough of it is present to determine that the artifact was patented in the 1,800,000 series (see Figure 5.12). This patent series was issued during the period of mid to late 1931 through early 1933 (United States Patent and Trade Mark Office website, 2001) indicating that the dry dump dates to or after this period.



Figure 5.12 “B” top condiment can with US patent # on base

### 5.5.3 Food Serving

“Objects used in the serving and presentation of food including tableware and cutlery” (PCCM 2001:1). One complete tarnished silver Nevada Nickel Silver tea spoon and a metal fork, without maker’s marks, were recovered from the dry dump (see Figure 5.13).





Figure 5.13 Cutlery – left group from operation 4, right from operation 5.

#### 5.5.4 Structural Material

One can, identified as a plug in lid paint can with partial yellow lettered logo on navy blue background represents the only artifact within this category.

#### 5.5.5 Illumination and Power

A broken glass lantern chimney with a rim identical to that found in operation 1, was also recovered from the dump. The chimney is oval in shape with the Dominon glass company logo and “MADE IN CANADA” written in relief near the top end (see Figure 5.14).



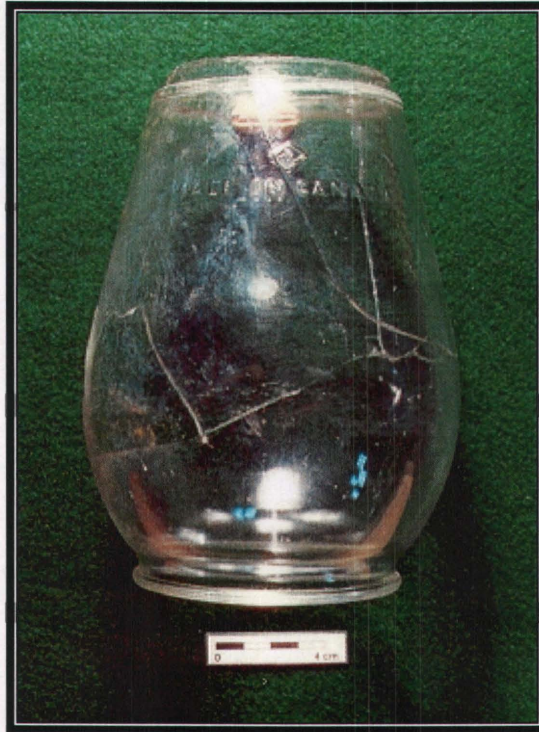


Figure 5.14 Glass lantern chimney

#### 5.5.6 Clothing

The fragmentary remains of a leather sole are the only artifacts to be recovered within this category. The remains appear to be from only one boot or shoe.

#### 5.5.7 Packing and Storing

One of two earthenware storage containers found at Camp #9 were discovered while sampling operation 4. Two base fragments and a portion of the body of the jug were recovered. The exterior glaze is a light gray with the interior a chocolate brown colour. Saltpetre was added during the firing of this item accounting for the texture of the glaze itself. No maker's marks are present on any of the fragments.

#### 5.5.8 Pocket Tools and Accessories

A single, complete metal file is represented within this category. The pointed end of the file is dented in several location and the abrasive surface of the main portion of the tool is still visible in places. Due to the condition of the file it would seem that the reason for discard may have been the tool's wearing out as opposed to breakage.



#### 5.5.9 Tobacco

A total of 36 tobacco cans were recovered from the dump. Eight different styles of can were identified based on the sealing technique used and product labels. Just over half of the cans are products of the Imperial Tobacco Company, based out of Montreal. Several of the cans are of the vacuum seal type. Imperial Tobacco did not introduce this type of can sealing until 1931 (letter, Margot Dichon to author, 2001). All cans recovered from the dump were cylindrical, and varied only slightly in size.

#### 5.5.10 Alcohol

A total of six complete or fragmentary remains of alcohol bottle were recovered from the sampling of operation 4. The bulk of the bottles were manufactured by the Dominion Glass Company and bear the diamond "D" logo on their bases. One large complete brown whisky bottle and several bottle finishes that, according to the typology employed by Kozakavich (1998), contained unspecified alcoholic beverages. A colourless Scotch whiskey bottle, complete with metal cap, from the North British Bottle Manufacturing Company, Ltd. in Shettleston, Scotland was recovered. This type of bottle was in production from 1903 through 1937, the Scotch whiskey bottle as the most common in North America (Toulouse 1971:337-338). The complete brown whiskey bottle has an Owen's suction scar present on its base and the Scotch whiskey bottle was manufactured using a cup bottle mould. A ghost seam is present on the bottle's side. A selection of alcohol bottles found at Camp #9 is presented at the end of this chapter (see Figure 5.20).

#### 5.5.11 Sweets and Indulgences

In addition to the alcohol bottles recovered from the dry dump six complete clear glass bottles with crown finishes added to the total number of bottles retrieved from this operation. Due in part to the colour, finish and lack of content identifiers these bottles were placed in the sweets and indulgences category. The possibility exists that they may have contained alcoholic beverages but the lack of corroborating evidence precludes their being placed in that category. Four of the bottles have an "M" inscribed



by a circle with an associated number above it, the logo of the Maryland Glass Corporation which adopted this logo in 1910 (Toulouse 1971: 339-41). The Dominion Glass Company manufactured one of the bottles and the last bears no identifying maker's marks at all. All of the bottles are machine made and bear Owen's suction scars on their bases.

#### 5.5.12 Unknown

Numerous artifacts from operation 4 are subsumed within this category. A portion of a fractured clear glass bottle finish, clear glass bottle body fragments, and a melted fragment fall within the unidentified category. Numerous metal artifacts also compose this function group. Several small unidentified can fragments and a portion of a hole-in-top can are of ambiguous function. Additionally, a metal clasp, which appears to have been manufactured on site, has an indeterminate purpose.

### 5.6 Operation 5: The Wet Dump

#### 5.6.1 Food Storage

A variety of tin cans designed for the storage of consumables were recovered from the wet dump. Sixty-eight percent by number were condensed milk cans. The remaining 32% were composed of cans of various larger and smaller sizes. All cans preserved well enough to determine the means of opening showed a method similar to that used on the cans from the dry dump – hacked open or punctured on the top surface. Due to the depth of the deposit, which acts to draw and trap water, the condition of the metal cans was far poorer than those found at the surface dump.

#### 5.6.2 Food Preparation

Twenty-two fragmentary remains from at least one glass "H.J Heinz" ketchup bottle were recovered from the wet dump. All of the remains are highly cracked with none exhibiting indications of impact damage. This is suggestive of the bottle being heated and then rapidly cooled.



### 5.6.3 Food Serving

The remains of a metal knife, fork, tablespoon and teaspoon were all recovered from this operation (see Figure 5.13). Although highly corroded, the teaspoon is the only utensil to show indications of patterning. The soup spoon has a partial maker's mark reading, "Nevada M..." likely the Nevada Metal Company.

### 5.6.4 Fauna

Faunal remains dominated artifact retrieval in sheer number within this operation. All are the remains of a bovid species. Based on age differences a minimum of 5 individuals is represented (Ernie Walker, personal communication, 2001). Age estimates range from almost foetal/newborn to adult. The bulk of the remains are fragmentary with approximately half being burned or calcined, indicative of a high degree of processing. Butchering marks present are all oriented in the same direction. This type of cut-mark is a result of sawing only in one direction and likely represents primary butchering using a band saw (Figure 5.15). Fragmentary remains of eggshell were also discovered. The eggs are most likely derived from the domestic chicken but, given the evidence provided in Art White's letter indicating the presence of people into June it is possible that the eggs are those of the Red Necked Grebe (Hank Classen, personal communication, 2001).





Figure 5.15 Longbone and rib from bovid species showing butchering marks.

#### 5.6.5 Flora

One hundred and thirty-four plum pits are the sole representatives of flora recovered from Camp #9. Documentary evidence for camp meals indicates that no fresh fruit was available at the relief camps. Plums would have been imported into the camp within tin cans, which may be represented by some of those cans hacked open with metal sections bent outwards to accommodate the exit of larger foodstuffs.

#### 5.6.6 Alcohol

Alcohol bottles were not recovered from the wet dump. This category is represented by the discovery of three bottle caps that could be identified as originating from the Red Wing Brewery in Prince Albert (see Figure 5.16). In addition to these four, other metal bottle caps were recovered but corroded to the point where product labels, if present, were not legible. As a result these items were included within the category of food storage.





Figure 5.16 Bottle Caps, showing those from Red Wing Brewery in Prince Albert.

#### 5.6.7 Tobacco

The highly corroded and fragmentary remains of 14 tobacco cans were recovered from the wet dump. Due to their state of preservation no maker's marks were present. Three of the cans were of the vacuum seal type while the others were either slip top lid or discontinuous thread screw top lids. All three of these type are represented in the assemblage of tobacco related artifacts removed from the dry dump.

#### 5.6.8 Unknown

A total of 68 unknown artifacts were derived from the wet dump. Colourless, curved glass fragments represent 74% of those artifacts, by number, of unknown function. One large segment of cut rubber with a seam bisecting it could also not be ascribed a known function. In addition, several pieces of highly corroded curved or twisted metal wire were recovered and two pieces of aluminium foil.



## **5.7 Operation 6: Blacksmith's/Work Shop**

### **5.7.1 Structural Material**

A variety of artifacts consigned to a structural function were recovered from operation 6. Many of these artifacts are unique in the context of the site. Several shards of windowpane glass were recovered from suboperations B and C. The fragmentary remains of a small metal plated floor was recovered within the feature of suboperation D described in the previous chapter as the area constructed to contain beach sand. Of particular note in the removal of the metal floor was the recovery of a reused rectangular metal tobacco slip top lid. The lid is punctured by two roofing nails and appears to have been used in patching the southern portion of the metal floor where two metal plates overlapped. In addition, a large metal slip top lid was recovered from the same suboperation that may have been modified for a similar purpose. Approximately one third of the lid was deliberately cut away. Finally, a metal brace, possibly a leg for some standing item or reinforcement for a leg, was also recovered from suboperation D. The brace was located adjacent to the sand-box feature and is speculated as being an element of a worktable for the blacksmith.

### **5.7.2 Packing and Storing**

Seven fragments from an earthenware container were discovered associated with the beach sand feature. All are curved body fragments of a chalky gray exterior and light brown interior with saltpeter glaze. Due to the interior colour these fragments do not appear to be a portion of the same vessel as those fragments found in Operation 4. No maker's marks were present on the recovered fragments and, as such, no date or location of manufacture could be determined. The curve of the fragments suggests they are derived from a large bodied vessel and provided the rationale for their assignment to this category. Several fragments can be fitted together and it is assumed that they are all the components of one vessel.



### 5.7.3 Pocket Tools and Accessories

This function category is composed of six metal artifacts originating from suboperation B, C and D. Three appear to be wire handles (see Figure 5.17) used for the hanging of items, one of which may have been fashioned on-site for this purpose. Two of the wire handles are identical in appearance. Both handles are composed of one wire segment that are bent so that, when affixed to a surface, the handle projects outward. Due to the thickness of the wire neither handle seems designed to support great weight and may have been utilised to hang lightweight tools, or small pieces of cloth or leather, etc. The third handle is composed of three segments (see Figure 5.17 example on left). The handle portion is derived from a thick, robust metal wire that has been looped at either end. A 65mm nail protrudes through each loop used for affixing the handle to a surface. The shorter length of the handle and the thicker wire would have allowed for the hanging of heavier items.

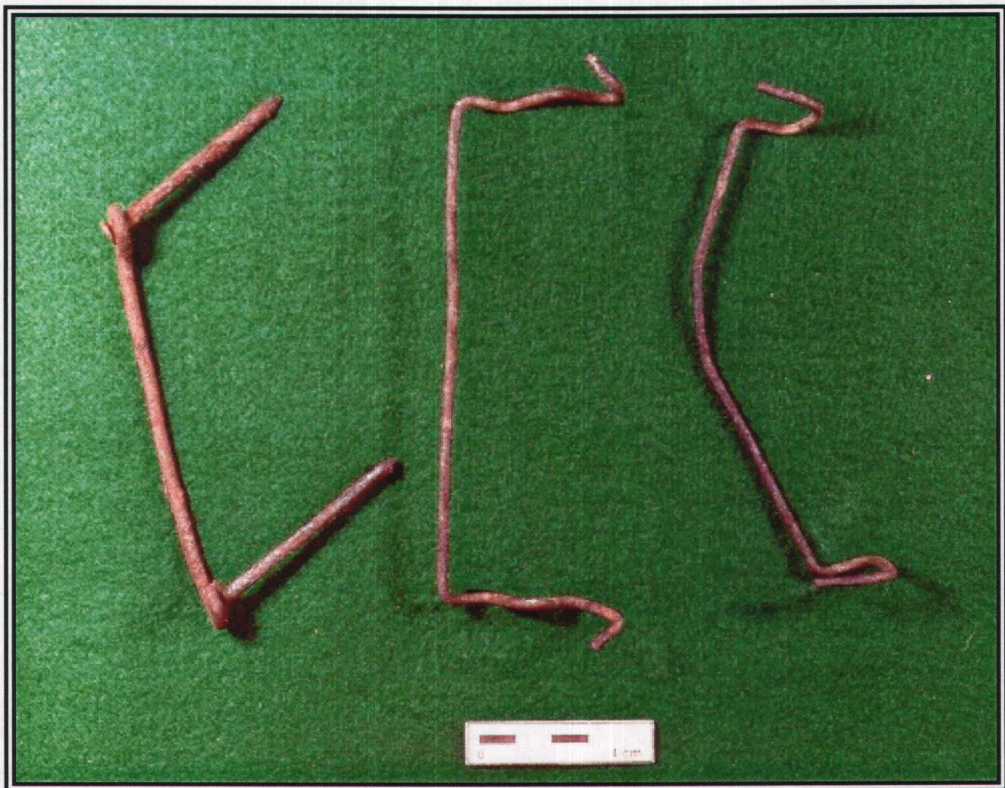


Figure 5.17 Handles



In addition to the handles, three tools were also recovered from these suboperations. One tool is of bronze alloy and was, in its original form, a screwdriver. The wooden handle of the screwdriver appears to have broken off at some point and, as opposed to discarding the screwdriver it was refashioned for continued use. The shaft has been bent into a sharp curve to act as a replacement handle. Given the degree of curve and the strength of the metal heating must have occurred in order to accomplish this. The remaining tools are derived from materials originally not intended for their current function and seem to have been fashioned in order to meet a specific purpose. Both are composed of lightweight wire, similar to that of the handles previously mentioned. One wire is flattened and blunted at one end to form, what appears to be, a screwdriver shaft. The other item has been flattened and cut to form a cutting edge. Neither tool approaches the weight of the original screwdriver head and given the lightweight nature these items were likely used for finer work (see Figure 5.18).

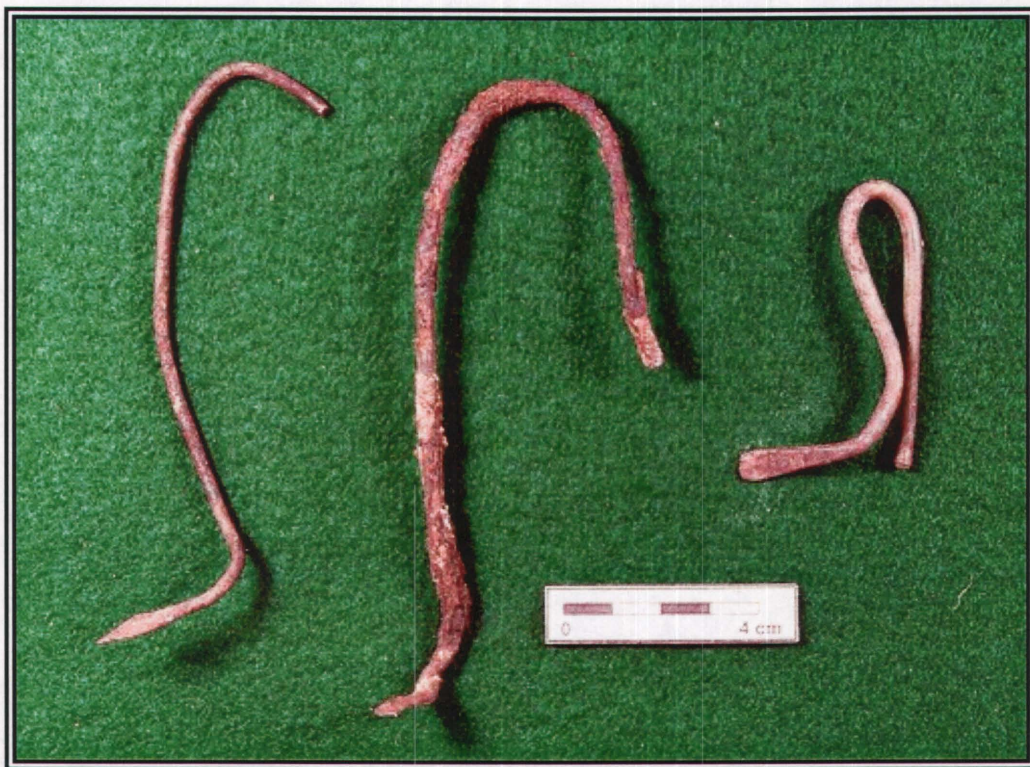


Figure 5.18 Tools made or modified at camp #9



#### 5.7.4 Tobacco

One screw top tobacco can lid was recovered during the excavation of this operation.

#### 5.7.5 Personal Medical

A small circular metal cap was recovered from suboperation D (see Figure 5.19). Within the centre of the cap is written “1 YARD” and, along the curve is legible “ADH.....PLASTER”. This item contained 1 yard of adhesive plaster, the equivalent of a conventional band-aid and was probably used for minor medical injuries resulting from the work conducted within this structure.



Figure 5.19 Adhesive plaster cap

#### 5.7.6 Stone Tool Manufacture

A broken quartzite biface was recovered in the extreme southwest corner of suboperation D at the interface of rotting wood and the ash layer, mentioned in the previous chapter. It is unlikely that this artifact was employed during the occupation of the site by the relief camp workers and is indicative of the presence of aboriginal populations. Given the small excavation sample at Camp #9 and the presence of only two lithic artifacts the existence of a prehistoric component at the site is indeterminate.



## **5.8 Operation 7: Unknown Feature**

### **5.8.1 Tobacco**

Only one artifact was recovered from the two suboperations excavated within this structure. A circular vacuum seal slip top lid was collected from the surface prior to excavation of suboperation A. Although several other artifacts were visible within the structure, such as a large metal bucket, condensed milk cans and paint cans, the presence of the tobacco can lid is likely a result of colluvial deposition, falling onto the floor of operation 7 from an area adjacent to operation 6.

## **5.9 Operation 8: Southern Dump**

### **5.9.1 Food Preparation**

A complete "CC Ltd" Ketchup bottle was recovered from the southern dump.

### **5.9.2 Packing and Storing**

"Containers and material used to store material not otherwise defined in another function. Also includes the tools and equipment used to pack any material" (PCCM 2001:2). A glass jar with metal screw top is the only artifact to be represented within this category. Due to the lack of identifying marks on the jar except for the volume indicator of "16 fl oz." written in relief on the shoulder of the jar the former contents are not known. The jar is complete and undamaged save for the corrosion on the metal lid.

### **5.9.3 Alcohol**

Six identical brown, longneck beer bottles were discovered at the southern dump. Only one was retained for analytical purposes (see Figure 5.20 example on left). The only identifying feature of the bottle is the diamond "D" logo of the Dominion Glass Company in relief on the base of the bottle. A date could not be established for the production of the bottles and, as such, they will not be included in the discussion of alcohol consumption on site in the context of the relief camp workers.



#### 5.9.4 Sweets and Indulgences

“Tools, equipment and packages relating to the production, storage and consumption of confections and related edible treats (e.g. candy, soft drinks, junk and fast food)” (PCCM 2001:2). A 1956, prototype glass Pepsi bottle (see Figure 5.21) with applied colour label was recovered from an area adjacent to the dump (see Ayers 1995: 142). A portion of the finish and neck are damaged. Although intrusive in the context of the Depression era this artifact was retained as evidence for the continued presence of individuals at the site in the past 70 years.

In the following chapter discussion is provided as to the significance of these items in the context of the goals of the thesis and, more specifically, the role of alcohol consumption at Camp #9



Figure 5.20 Selected alcohol bottles from Camp #9





Figure 5.21 Selected non-alcohol bottles and jar from Camp #9, 1956 prototype applied colour label Pepsi second from left.

### Nail Table

Nail Type	Nail Length (mm)	Number of Nails by Operation				
		1	2	3	5	6
Roofing	21	10	2	0	0	1
Finishing	50	1	0	1	1	1
Wire Drawn	35-40	4	0	3	15	2
	50-55	8	0	11	1	4
	60	19	3	0	0	6
	65	97	13	13	92	71
	70	1	0	6	1	1
	90	1	0	0	1	2
	100	15	3	0	56	10
	125	3	2	1	2	2
	155	7	0	0	2	0
Fragments*		0	0	10	10	0
Total		166	23	35	171	100
% Bent		60	21	37	75	74

Table 5.2 Nail Distribution Table

## **Chapter 6**

### **Interpretations**

#### **6.1 *Site Dating***

Definitive dating of this site to the Depression is possible through the combination of the consideration of camp layout and dating of artifacts recovered during excavation. An analysis of the site map and examination of overall structure layout in the context of the 2001 excavation suggests that the central portion of the site, that area containing the highest concentration of foundation lines and depressions, probably represents one occupation. No stratigraphic or artifactual evidence recovered during excavation, except for, possibly, the cabin, suggest the site's potential previous use during the historic period for other purposes, specifically as a logging camp as suggested by the informant during Parr and Lunn's survey (1990). Although no evidence for a logging camp was recovered, given the small excavation sample, and the lack of testing within all foundations and depressions the possibility of structure reuse during the Depression, particularly in the case of the cabin, cannot be precluded. If, as interpreted in chapter 5, substantial recycling of wood occurred prior to site abandonment the non-recycling at the cabin is anomalous. Possible explanations may be that the effort required to recover the wood of the cabin were considered too labour

intensive. Another possibility is that, if the cabin predated the camp, the condition of the wood was deemed substandard for the purposes of recycling. In either case testing of this structure is required.

The recovery of the centre fire cartridges from the laundry/bath house supports an interpretation of site occupation during the Depression. As previously mentioned, the Dominion Cartridge Company did not begin the manufacture of this type of cartridges until 1918 with production ceasing in 1938. It was in the following year, 1919, that logging in what would become PANP ended (Waiser 1989:19). A major forest fire swept through the southern portion of the park that year. Prevailing winds pushed the fire northwards, to an area just south of Camp #9. Not only does this account for the thick ash layer encountered during excavation but it also forced the Prince Albert Lumber Company, the only company awarded contracts within this area, into bankruptcy. This marked the end of large scale logging within the park. Although it is conceivable that the centre fire bullets reached the site prior to the forest fire it would seem more likely that they postdate this. It is important consider the scale of production, diffusion and availability of these bullets on the munitions market for those working in the Prince Albert area. Building of the site on top of this ash layer could only be accomplished after the forest fire of 1919.

Additionally, the finding of the vacuum seal tobacco can lid in Operation 7, identical in shape and proportion to those recovered from the east dump and identified as produced by the Imperial Tobacco Company also helps support an interpretation of occupation of the site during the Depression. As already discussed this style of tobacco can did not enter production until 1931 and could not appear on site during the period in which the park was used for logging. It is also through the finding of this tobacco can that the east dump and the central portion of the site can be associated to the same period. Although no direct evidence exists that links the southern dump to the remainder of the site, it may be inferred as a result of both the general similarity in refuse composition and the lack of indication of prior occupation in the immediate area.

The centre fire cartridges and the tobacco can indicate the use of the site between 1918-1938 and post 1931, respectively. Although additional excavation is required the presence of these two particular artifacts could only occur between the

period of 1931 and 1938. It is possible that even though the Dominion Cartridge Company stopped production of these cartridges in 1938 there may have been a period of a few years that they were available after the cessation of production. Ultimately however these two artifacts provide evidence that, at least, the central portion of the site is indeed a relief camp dating to the Depression era.

The structure located to the south east of the main concentration of buildings at Camp #9, however, remains anomalous. Based on its distance from the site, the lack of associated features (save for a log pile which abuts the south wall) combined with no testing during the 2001 season, it is difficult to provide some form of interpretation for this structure. Testing of this feature would be of value should future archaeological undertakings occur at the site.

## 6.2 *The Cabin*

During Parr and Lunn's initial investigation of Camp #9 they identified the sole standing structure, the cabin, as the icehouse. Although not explicitly stated, this identification was likely based upon information provided by an informant in conjunction with the construction of this structure. The outer and inner sides of the walls are faced with overlapping wood siding oriented horizontally and are approximately 30 cm thick. The interior space between the wood facing is packed with sawdust for the purposes of insulation. Clearly the intent for this type of construction is for the regulation of the interior temperature. Parr and Lunn's identification of it as an icehouse may not, however, be accurate. Icehouses were, typically, subterranean structures that used their depth and the surrounding cool earth to maintain low temperatures. Even with the insulation it seems unlikely that this structure would be capable of maintaining cool enough conditions to prevent ice from melting over the summer months. Additionally, the occupation of the relief camps was from October through April. By November, generally, temperatures would have dropped low enough that ice would begin forming in bodies of water present in the park (Fung 1999:100) and thus requiring an icehouse for, at most, only one month. More likely is that this structure was used for preserving vegetables and canned goods. The presence of a stove in the centre of the structure would seem to confirm this interpretation over that of an

icehouse. The combination of insulation and a fireplace could keep the internal temperature above freezing but cool enough for long term preservation of foodstuffs that would be damaged by freezing. The cabin might also have functioned as a residence. Testing of this structure is required in order to assess the above possibilities.

An additional, intriguing, aspect to the cabin is the existence of numerous large concentric circles associated with nail holes along their circumferences which may be an indication of the stretching of beaver pelts (David Meyer, personal communication, 2001). It is estimated that approximately 10 to 12 of these features existed on the walls of the cabin, although direct evidence is lacking due to substantial collapse of the walls. Although one beaver limb was recovered from the excavation of the privy there is no other indication that trapping was occurring on site, especially on the scale suggested in the cabin. This is supported by documentary evidence that does not include trapping in the list of activities undertaken by the men at the relief camps. This is an indication of the possibility that the cabin predates the relief camp.

A final consideration is the cabin's use after the Depression. The sole definitive evidence that exists for this is the presence of graffiti within the building itself. Several individuals inscribed their names, dates and, in some cases, their city or town of origin on the interior walls. Investigation into who these individuals are could potentially be fruitful. These individuals may not simply be tourists but could potentially be people who worked at the site or, in the case of the individual from Prince Albert, may know of people who worked there.

### *6.3 Site Preparation and Structural Considerations of Camp #9*

After initial clearing of the site, construction of buildings commenced. Based on the lack of a discernible intermixed ash and charcoal layer throughout the site, save for in select concentrated locations, site clearing was probably not accomplished through burning. General levelling of surfaces may have been undertaken prior to the actual construction of buildings. After levelling, the building's frame and a wooden sub floor were constructed with floorboards oriented in a north-south direction. A layer of saturated asphalt felt, which acted as a waterproof seal, was then placed on top of the sub floor. Finally, the floorboards themselves were nailed into place in an east-west



direction. Orienting the sub-floor and floorboards at an angle added strength to the structure and was recommended as a building practice at this time (Holtman 1929:298). Facing of the building with boards would have followed. No evidence for the positioning of the exterior wallboards in a vertical or horizontal orientation was discovered. In fact, the lack of decomposing wood surrounding this and other structures suggests that much of the building material was recycled at the time of or after site abandonment. Based on the depth and intermixing of strata in the profile and planview of suboperation A of operation 1, it is likely that the bottom of the exterior wall was flush with or even below the level of the subfloor. The mixing of strata suggests that a deep, narrow trench was dug in the process of building the structure. The width of the trench would make construction work within its confines awkward but would easily have accommodated the ends or sides of boards for the facing of the building. After the construction of the exterior wall was complete, the trench was refilled and a sloped embankment was built around the exterior of the building to act as insulation and facilitate the draining of water away from the structure. Due to the colour and sandy composition of the soil it appears that its origin is from the deepest stratigraphic levels. This soil was taken from a borrow pit or, more likely, from the back dirt generated when camp workers dug the privy and laundry house.

#### 6.4 *Camp Conditions*

Some comment on camp conditions is possible through analysis of the artifact assemblage. The recovery of large amounts of structurally related material and durable undecorated artifacts of other functions attest to the austerity of camp conditions. Lantern chimney glass lacks any ornamentation. The same is true for cutlery, save for the nicked silver spoon. No ceramic tableware was recovered and, based on historical photographs (see Figure 3.10) the men ate off metal plates. Additionally, nothing associated with leisure activities was recovered. Although, as previously mentioned, reading material was provided by charitable organisations, no evidence for this was discovered. This is not particularly surprising given the poor preservation potential of paper. Of note, however, is that no other materials associated with any kind of leisure activity were recovered. As Waiser comments in his discussion of relief camps in

Riding Mountain National Park, hockey was a major pastime for the men working there. The lack of evidence for this may be as a result of the unavailability of space, being that Camp #9 is located in the boreal forest, and the camp supervisors and park superintendent were unwilling to commit to the investment in time and labour to clear land at the site for this type of activity. Another possibility is the use of the frozen Waskesiu Lake, which is located approximately 200 m north of the site, for recreation. The sole archaeological evidence for recreation at Camp #9, however, is alcohol bottles. Although this does not mean that alcohol consumption was the only non-work activity engaged in at the site it is the only activity whose remains are visible from the 2001 field season.

An additional element of conditions that requires addressing is the role of *ad hoc* technology. As discussed in the previous chapter there are several examples of artifacts that might be described in this way. In particular are the examples of the manufactured tools, the reworked screwdriver shaft, one of the handles and the large amounts of metal wire found on site. It is doubtful that the men purchased these items themselves and that, more likely, they were provided by the government. Several explanations exist for the role of *ad hoc* technology. Of primary importance might be the simple unavailability of purchased, specialized tools for various tasks or, in the case of the screw driver, temporary means of repairing the item may be required because of the length of time required to acquire replacements. The fact that this item was discarded may be evidence for a replacement eventually arriving.

The metal wire also appears to have various functions on site. In the case of the wire retrieved in direct association with the lantern chimney it was likely used to suspend a lantern. The wire could also be used for hanging of items such as washed garments in the laundry/bathing house. Of particular note is the fact that having a base stock of materials from which to derive specialized tools might be an effective means of dealing with potential repair uncertainties within the camps. It allows a degree of flexibility, greater independence and, most importantly, it would reduce costs. By being able to manufacture makeshift tools for particular purposes purchasing of specialized tools would not be needed. Within the context of the times and attempting to provide as much relief as possible for individuals keeping costs low is essential. The issue of costs



of items and the choice to purchase them is an intriguing aspect and will be the focus for the remainder of discussion.

### 6.5 *Consumption*

The study of consumer behaviour became an area of investigative interest in historical archaeology within the last 25 years. In many respects this can be attributed to the combined but separate efforts of examining socio-economic status, or class, and more recently, the beginnings of capitalism. One of the first studies that stands out in this particular topic is William Adams' 1976 study of commodity flows in Silcott, Washington, which examined the origins of goods within the town to assess to what degree the residents were participating in a global economy (Adams 1976). Through detailed examination of artifacts and documentary records Adams determined that nearly half of all commodities entering Silcott between 1900 and 1930 originated over 1,500 miles away. Silcott depended on the manufacturing centres along the American eastern seaboard to supply the bulk of goods available within the town. Some goods even originated in Europe, as far away as Poland. Ten years later a study by Leslie Stewart-Abernathy of the Moser Site, in the Ozark Mountains in Arkansas demonstrated the same phenomenon – an appeal to distant markets for various goods (Stewart-Abernathy 1986:156). Both studies show that isolated, apparently backwater communities were, even at the turn of the century, intimately tied into the global marketplace. Both of these studies were landmark investigations. Adams was one of the first to examine commodity origins with the intent of showing the degree of integration with the global marketplace and Abernathy's work was the first to include discussion as to why people purchased what they did from the global marketplace.

In recent years archaeologists have expanded the exploration of the concept that artifacts play an active role within the society that made and used them. Charles Orser comments:

material objects carry meanings, convey messages, and mediate between people in complicated, multifaceted ways that may have little to do with physical survival as such. Many scholars now acknowledge that objects

are products of social existence and provide the foundation for self-knowledge and social interaction....(Orser 1994:63).

No longer are artifacts ascribed purely functional roles but recursive ones. People not only manufacture and use artifacts but are in turn shaped by what they consume. Thus the use of apparently mundane items such as toothbrushes (Shackel 1993), medicine bottles (Orser 1994) and gardens (Leone 1984) acquire complex roles within society. This realisation caused some archaeologists to question how the recursive nature of artifacts might shape the choices consumers make as to what they will purchase.

This question led to an increasing number of studies on consumer choice in archaeology. Unfortunately, as Cook et al (1996:51) note, there is a definite focus on the quantitative aspects of consumer choice – using choice to determine socio-economic status. How wealthy were people based on what they threw out? The question of why people chose to purchase the particular goods they did is generally left unaddressed. An element to the avoidance of this topic by archaeologists is credited as due to the lingering impact of the New Archaeology that elevated quantitative studies to the paragon of archaeological research (Cook et al 1996:52). Archaeologists “should” be conducting science through quantifying data and constructing models for explaining society. To that end George Miller devised ceramic indices to gauge relative class (see Miller 1980 and 1991). Soon thereafter faunal indices were established in order to assess the same (see Henry 1987). Lyman (1987) took this to an extreme in his examination of the idea that individuals purchase meat from a purely cost effective point of view. Critique of these methods generally centres on the calibration of indices to more accurately reflect class as opposed to examining the more ephemeral aspect of assessing why various consumer choices are made (Monks 1999:208-210). As a result of these types of investigation the concept of active agency became omitted.

Individuals are not simply passive players in economic markets but are discriminating consumers. They make conscious choices as to what they will purchase. Those choices are based on a subset of both the functional and non-functional requirements of the consumable needed. Although an individual’s income plays a role in what a person can purchase caution must be employed in order to not take a pure

economically deterministic approach to examining the archaeological record. Recently some investigations have shown that working class, poor or slave populations will purchase or acquire through other means those items considered only affordable or appropriate for those of higher socio-economic status (see Wall 1991, Herman 1999, Wilkie 2000). In light of these investigations the application of George Miller's economic scaling system or the finding of chess pieces or various expensive knick-knacks as indicators of class is challenged. Those archaeologists initially studying consumer choice approached the archaeological record with ideas as to how class should be represented. Effectively, the expectation was that more expensive goods would represent the middle or upper class whereas more functional ones would represent the working class. Although often true, this notion is not universal and can lead to problems when examining the issue of class. This is particularly true when dealing with limited samples or small assemblages.

Class based expectations of commodity consumption pervades western culture. From the Sumptuary laws of the 1600s, which legislated appropriate clothing based on class, to modern media and the right wing's maligning of the working class and poor populations who participate in the apparently "frivolous", "irresponsible" or "inappropriate" behaviours of alcohol consumption, smoking or gambling certain expectations are imposed on an individual's consumption based on his or her class. This phenomenon is institutionalized in contemporary society and exemplified in differential arrest and conviction rates for incidents of public intoxication. Individuals of lower socio-economic status are consistently arrested and charged more frequently than those of the middle or upper class (Reiman 1984:84). The only difference that exists is one of income between these two groups of individuals. The stigma imposed on individuals of lower socio-economic status who chose to dispose of their income in ways deemed inappropriate is derived from the meanings and social messages associated with that object or behaviour. The commodity itself becomes of secondary importance to these other aspects.

Recent analysis indicates that the messages and social meanings behind items are the major motivation for the consumption of non-staple goods as opposed to an item's functionality (see Klein 2000). Leisure, and those activities associated with it, is

only for those who can afford it with the underlying assumption that they have earned it. This phenomenon did not develop in a vacuum but evolved in tandem with, if not the driving force of, capitalism. By examining the social meanings of commodities as a motivator for consumption an appreciation for why individuals purchase what they do becomes possible. In addition the examination of transgressions in class or socio-economic status based consumption expectations allows the opportunity to examine forms of non-violent resistance.

### 6.6 *Consumption in the Context of the Depression*

The Depression offers an excellent opportunity to assess consumption in a capitalist context. As a result of the lack of or severe restrictions placed on what goods were available to individuals due to the curtailing of their incomes consumers faced making new or different choices. Those goods not required for subsistence acquire added value. When individuals choose to purchase these items it is for specific reasons and given the challenging economic times a greater process of self-reflection or the question of “do I *really* need this” might be assumed. Those items that fall outside the boundaries of subsistence items take on increased importance and must meet some other need, either psychological or social. This is especially true for those with the least amount of disposable income. The men of the relief camps offer one of the best case study for an analysis of consumption within this context.

Men entering the relief camps were provided with the basics of subsistence: food, clothing and shelter. In addition, they were also given an allowance of 20 cents/day. Because of the pervasive habit of smoking, its social acceptability and encouragement a stipend, independent of the men’s allowance, allowed for tobacco purchase. As a result what arises is a situation where the men of the camps had a very small disposable income. Examining the choices these men made in terms of the disposal of this income is informative in assessing what social or psychological needs were not being met within the camp and thus provided by the government. Implicit in this analysis is the assumption that the archaeologist is capable of identifying those items not provided by the government. Documentary evidence is used to differentiate between those commodities purchased for the provisioning of the men and those made



by the men themselves. It is hypothesised that, because of the negligible sum the government provided in conjunction with the transient portion of camp men having no dependants, there would generally be little or no perceived value in saving their allowance for long-term goals. Instead, these funds were used to purchase commodities that improved their immediate social and psychological conditions. These commodities might act to, one, strengthen the social bonds between the men; two, resist the order imposed on the men by camp authorities; three, be a coping mechanism or temporary escape from the conditions in which they lived. On a practical level this entails a search for any non-subsistence items or items that fulfill necessary functional roles but, stylistically, were considered a luxury item. Playing cards, pornographic material, alcohol or narcotics exemplify the former, fine bone china, or silver cutlery the latter.

#### *6.7 Alcohol Consumption in the Context of Camp #9*

The following discussion focuses on a select number of functions alcohol played in three broad social categories at Camp #9. More roles may, and probably do, exist that are not addressed here. In part, this discussion is limited because of a fear of over interpreting a small number of alcohol bottles and beer bottle caps found during the 2001 field season. Further research is needed on this particular aspect. By stepping beyond the traditional medicalised view of alcohol consumption some degree of comment on social interactions is possible. A broader acceptance of this type of analysis could potentially be fruitful in further archaeological interpretation as is shown here.

Assessing the role of alcohol at Camp #9 in the context of consumer choice is possible because documentary evidence exists that indicates alcohol was not part of the rations provided to the men by the government. In light of the lack of differentiation between DND camps and those operated within the National Parks this is a somewhat challenging task. The sample menu for Riding Mountain, mentioned earlier, does not include alcohol. Although this does not preclude the possibility that alcohol is present at other camps, one is hard pressed to imagine that selective distribution of alcohol in the National Parks had any other impact but to foment dissension. Additionally, as Leslie Bella indicated in her book, *Parks for Profit* (1987), the National Parks

Administration considered drinking an inappropriate behaviour within the camps. The superintendent in Jasper went as far as providing a list of men on relief in the Jasper area to the local liquor store manager in the hopes that those men would not be served. To the chagrin of the superintendent liquor sales fell under the purview of provincial legislation and, as a federal employee, the superintendent was unable to dictate to whom liquor could be sold (Bella 1987:90). As a result men on relief continued to purchase alcohol.

One unfortunate element of the study of the role of alcohol within the context of the relief camp is that there is a general lack of a framework for its interpretation. As Mary Douglas indicates, a preponderance of literature regarding alcohol consumption exists but this literature is dominated by a problem-oriented approach (Douglas 1987:3). Research of alcohol is most often conducted from a medicalised point of view in which consumption is analyzed using the discourse of pathology. Hudak, Krestan and Bepko exemplify this in their contribution to a book of essays examining families in social perspective in America,

Conservative figures estimate that 14 million Americans are alcoholic. Every alcoholic directly affects the lives of at least four or five other people. Half of those who receive treatment will relapse in two to four years (Hudak, Krestan and Bepko 1999:455).

The irony of this introduction is that the intent of the book, as described by the editors, is to,

[B]ridge the traditionally separate spheres of individual development and the family life cycle with cultural and social perspectives in a way that transforms the traditional categories and proposes a new, more comprehensive way to think about human development and the life cycle (Carter and McGoldrick 1999: xv).

Far from transforming traditional categories such as “alcoholism,” this section acts only to maintain the hegemonic view of the role of alcohol in a western context. This approach is endemic to many of the social and health sciences. Studies linking poverty and minority groups to high rates of alcoholism are prolific yet few of them actually

endeavour to assess why drinking is so apparently rampant within these groups. To some extent anthropologists suffered from a similar interpretive paradigm. This motivated Mary Douglas, in 1987, to compile 13 essays on non-problem-oriented anthropological studies of alcohol. In subsequent years these types of studies expanded but, as yet, seem to have remained within the anthropological literature. As these studies are beginning to show, alcohol consumption, in both western and non-western contexts, has numerous functions. To assess the role of alcohol consumption within the context of Camp #9, three aspects are examined.

#### **6.7.1 Alcohol as a Means of Socialization**

Probably one of the most self-evident roles of alcohol consumption is as a means of facilitating socialization. Dwight Heath comments:

[T]he reason most often given for drinking [is] sociability. Most people know from their own experience that drinking together enhances sociability, helping to put people at ease, giving them something to do with their hands, and providing, if necessary, a common initial focus for conversation (Heath 2000:172).

In the context of the relief camps this is probably the most important role alcohol consumption plays. This might be especially true of the DND camps where large numbers of men are entering camps where they probably do not know many or any of the other workers. Within the National Parks relief camps this particular element may not be as pronounced as in their DND counterparts. This results from the inclusion of men from the local area within the camps. It is more likely that the men of these camps more often worked with others who were familiar. The case of Art White is a prime example of the inclusion of single, unemployed men working in camps close to their place of residence.

The men's consumption of alcohol in the National Park's relief camps, and even more so those of the DND camps, may be paralleled with James Spradley's work with urban transients, colloquially referred to as "bums." Although this particular study occurred in the late 1960s, many parallels exist with the men of the relief camps. Both groups are highly mobile, travelling from city to city, predominantly by rail. Both

groups, albeit for different reasons, could not maintain jobs. The men of the relief camps and urban transients are also stigmatized as a result of their unemployment. In both groups, if Camp #9 was typical of both National Park and DND relief camps, alcohol consumption was present, if not common. For the urban transient, collective alcohol consumption is an intrinsic element to building social solidarity and as an indicator of friendship (Spradley 1988:117). It is not unreasonable to view the role of alcohol consumption by relief camp workers as fulfilling a similar function.

One element that alcohol played within the relief camps of PANP is that of allowing the men a facilitator for 'catching up.' During the summer months, while the relief camps were closed, the men had to search for employment locally, ride the rails or, in case of Art, attempt to return to their homesteads. During these periods the men had no way of contacting one another. When they returned to the camps in the late fall alcohol provided a context to relay their experiences of the summer.

One added aspect to this role of socialization is the impact that the distribution of men in the camps within PANP had. It is unlikely that assigning men to the various camps within the park was done based on boarding acquaintances together. Over the course of his employment within PANP Art spent time in Camps #2, 7 and 8. With a flow of men between and into the camps alcohol consumption acted to ease the transition of new men into their new locations. This was especially true of those camps within PANP with a moderately stable population in a given season where social relations are already somewhat established. An additional aspect is that the men drank out of sheer boredom. Another possibility is that alcohol played a role in a barter or an exchange economy.

#### **6.7.2 Alcohol as a Coping Mechanism**

Alcohol may also act as a coping mechanism for the physical and psychological realities of the work camps. If individuals such as Art were somewhat typical, excluding his age, of the men entering the camps none of them were strangers to manual labour. Given the nature of the work conducted within the park, grubbing ditches, clearing brush and constructing the townsite, alcohol was a gratifying reward at the end of the day. Not only does the psychological aspect of an earned reward for a day's



labour apply but also so does the psychological impact of the physiological effects of alcohol consumption. Ethanol acts to dilate blood vessels giving the momentary sensation of warmth. All of the men's work occurred out of doors during winter. The consumption of alcohol at the end of the day working outside gave the perception of warmth. This element is purely psychological but plays an important role for workers in cold climates. This particular aspect of alcohol consumption is addressed in Peter Pope's analysis that this commodity played for 17<sup>th</sup>-century Newfoundland fishermen (Pope 1989:90). Alcohol consumption, in small quantities, also acts as a relaxant and acted to temporarily assuage sore muscles of individuals engaged in manual labour.

Additionally, alcohol consumption in larger quantities was a form of temporary escape. As Marshall credits, "alcohol is the best known and most widely used means of altering human consciousness" (Marshall 1979:2). It was also one of the few legal means of doing so at the time as well. Large quantities of alcohol have a dramatic impact on higher-level brain functions, specifically emotion. By consuming large enough quantities of alcohol emotional processes can be hindered. Given the economic conditions at the time and, as Parr points out, the men's inability to meet society's gender expectations alcohol acted as a temporary refuge from the pressures experienced during the Depression. In addition, a state of inebriation also acted as an acceptable context in which emotional release in the presence of other men is possible. As Joseph Gusfield notes in his examination of alcohol consumption as a leisure activity in America:

[D]rinking provides an excuse for lapses of responsibility, for unmannerly behaviour; for gaucheries, for immoral and improper actions. "I was not myself" is the plea the morning after. In this fashion, the use of alcohol places a frame around action which mitigates effects in other spheres of life (Gusfield 1987:79)

As such, drunkenness offered a context for the expression of frustrations, anger, resentment or fears of the men who are disempowered. Alcohol can also play an important role in counteracting this. As Heath points out some studies concluded, "that the major reason why men drink was to enjoy a subjective feeling of power" (Heath 2000:183).

An additional element to this was the underlying tension that existed between the reality of work the men were conducting and the intent of the park. Although, as Waiser points out, the men saw value in the work they were conducting in the park what they ultimately laboured to produce was a venue for the leisure activity of the middle class and upper class. Only those who could afford to get to PANP and had the income to participate in the available activities could do so. The ultimate intent of the park necessarily excluded those men working on the relief projects. That the work season extended over the winter months can be viewed as a means to have infrastructure development occurring within the park while maintaining limited contact between those developing it and the summer clientele.

### **6.7.3 Alcohol as Resistance**

Alcohol consumption also acted as a form of non-violent resistance to camp hierarchy. By purchasing and engaging in the consumption of alcohol relief camp workers transgressed consumption expectations as dictated by their socio-economic status. As the letter from the superintendent of Jasper National Park indicates, park authority did not view alcohol consumption by the men favourably. Although Bella does not indicate the specific reason why the superintendent was opposed to it, several reasons existed. One reason was that there were fears that drunken men became unruly or destructive. Regardless of the reality of these perceived fears the underlying assumption was the loss of control by those in authority over the men. No indication of violence was mentioned. An additional consideration is that if the National Park Relief camps differed too greatly from those operated by the DND tensions between the two could mount and Commissioner Harkin might have faced repercussions. Waiser hints at this possibility in his analysis of the negotiations between Harkin and McNaughton in 1933 when he discusses the joint attempt by the two to subsume the programs under one set of regulations (Waiser 1995:102).

Additionally, the social meaning of alcohol consumption was an element behind the superintendent's request to prohibit its sale to the men of the relief camps. Consumption of alcohol by the camp men was viewed as inappropriate behaviour on their part by those who were employed within the park's system because of the social

implications of drinking. As Gusfield comments in his analysis of appropriate drinking times in industrial America:

[w]ith the emergence of industrial organization, the separation of work as an area of sobriety and play as an area of permissible insobriety became more common. The development of leisure as a contrast to work did much to reinforce the disapproval of drinking as daytime activity (Gusfield 1988:77).

Although he does not directly state it, that period of time denoted as leisure activity is dependent on a period of time that is not. A symbiotic relationship exists between work and leisure time. They can only exist in the presence of each other. In the context of the 1930s the men working in the relief camps were not considered nor did they consider themselves employed. This is evident in Art White's letters where, while in the relief camps, he wrote to Jack about looking for employment. At no point did he actually convey to Jack the view of his being in the relief camps as a form of employment. Employment was always discussed as a phenomenon outside of the context of the PANP. Examined within this framework, participating in an activity considered appropriate only during leisure time, alcohol consumption by the men in the camps takes on new meaning. They were transgressing appropriate behaviours because of their lack of employment and thus, ultimately, upon their socio-economic status. Although it was technically not illegal for them to consume alcohol it was deemed inappropriate for them to do so. From the perspective of authority the men had not "earned" the right to indulge in this behaviour nor could they truly "afford" it. Although there were no injunctions on what they could purchase, given the economic times, expectations existed as to on what they should be spending their money. Alcohol consumption, a leisure activity, became the purview of those not requiring relief.

In many senses this particular aspect of resistance is passive. It is not necessarily a conscious element of the men's consumption. Until such time as attempts were made to prevent the men from drinking by camp authority alcohol as a form of resistance was likely an unconscious act by the majority of the men. In the case of Jasper National Park, resistance evolved from unconscious and passive to conscious and activity when the superintendent attempted to prevent the men from consuming alcohol

and they refused. Although Bella did not indicate that consumption continued it may be inferred from the liquor storeowner's refusal to comply with the superintendent's request. It is difficult to conceive of individuals willingly curtailing their available clientele based on a request alone. Ultimately, however, this aspect requires more investigation, both archaeological and historical, and an examination of possible attempts by the superintendent to pressure the liquor store managers into not selling alcohol, or actively preventing the men from drinking it, would be useful in examining this particular aspect of alcohol consumption.



## **Chapter 7**

### **Conclusion**

#### *7.1 Summary of Study*

The Great Depression was one of the most influential events of peacetime Canadian history of the last century. It not only forced Canadians to deal with large-scale unemployment for the first time but helped shape a country with which contemporary Canadians are familiar. The combination of the 1929 economic collapse and drought of the following decade also influenced a generation. As the economic conditions of the times grew increasingly worse the Bennett government, through the Department of National Defence and Parks Canada, initiated the relief camp programs. Over the course of three years starting in 1932 an estimated 200,000 men worked in these camps.

Although generally treated as the same phenomenon the experiences of the men within the Parks Canada camps were somewhat better than those in the Department of National Defence. Parks Canada camps provided work that was deemed more fulfilling and provided better amenities to the workers. Ultimately, through the examination of the remains of one such camp, Camp #9 in Prince Albert National Park, some of these aspects are elucidated. Of particular importance in this study is an examination of the

role of consumer behaviour of the men. Through an examination of the purchasing patterns of the men within Camp #9 the hypothesis that goods that improved their day-to-day experiences would be purchased was tested. The use of documentary evidence allowed the capacity to discern which items the men were purchasing and which were provided by the government with some degree of certainty. Through the study of these artifacts, alcohol bottles and bottle caps, I examined the social role of alcohol for the men within the context of Camp #9. As opposed to adopting the traditional medicalised view of alcohol consumption as pathology I drew upon anthropological work to help provide a framework for a more objective examination of this substance. In doing so I hypothesised how alcohol could be used in three broad social categories: as a means of facilitating socialization, as a coping mechanism, and as a possible form of non-violent resistance.

## *7.2 Evaluation and Suggestions for Future Research*

At the outset of this project I endeavoured to use the archaeological record to assess the role of the men's consumer behaviour at Camp #9 as a means of shaping their social experience there. Although I view this effort as a qualified success there are several shortcomings of my work. Primarily, it is imperative to acknowledge the small sample upon which site interpretation is constructed. Only 18 units were excavated to a sum of 8 different identifiable features of the total 16 identified on site in the 2001 field season. Wholly 4 structures were left unsampled and one sampled unsuccessfully. Two of the structure where sampling was not conducted are identified by default. Evidence for these structures' identification needs to be gathered in the future. Corroborative evidence for those structures excavated would also be of benefit.

A second source of concern is that the interpretation of the role of alcohol consumption was based on the recovery of a small sample of bottles and bottle caps identified with some degree of certainty as alcohol related. Expanded sampling of both the east and south dumps would be beneficial to substantiate or discredit my claims.

Additionally, my historiography is not exhaustive and, due to financial constraints, not all possible archives or document repositories could be visited. As a result of the unavailability of some documents on microfilm from the National Archives

of Canada some potentially valuable sources were not examined. Also, only a limited attempt to discover informants was undertaken. Those potential informants who were pursued were deceased, cognitively impaired or unavailable for interviews.

Finally, in some respects, the novelty of this thesis is also an area of concern. No other relief camps have been excavated or, if they were, published material is not accessible. Evidence from other camps is not available for the purposes of intersite comparison. The experience of Camp #9 can neither be considered as unique or as typical of relief camps within the National Parks until further study is undertaken. Additionally, no DND camps have been excavated and are unavailable for comparative purposes. Excavated DND camps would prove highly valuable to begin the process of contrasting the experiences of the men in either type of camp. Presently the interpretation of Camp #9 exists in a comparative vacuum. This is also true on a continental basis. The Civilian Conservation Corps program initiated by President Theodore Roosevelt during the Depression in the United States, effectively the same phenomenon as the relief camps but heralded as a success, would be a valuable source of comparative material. Contrasting the similar programs operated by the Canadian and American governments at the time would be valuable.

On a variety of levels, though, the excavation and subsequent interpretation of Camp #9 was successful. This thesis adds to the small, but growing, body of literature pertaining to relief camps. It is one of the first and most comprehensive archaeological investigations of the Canadian government's attempts to deal with single unemployed men during the Depression and provides some, albeit limited, insight into the conditions they worked in. It not only brought exposure to Prince Albert National Park but also informed the tour participants of a little known aspect of Canadian history. Additionally, copies of this thesis will provide future researchers a further source for information on this topic and, for Camp #9, acts to record it in light of future site degradation. Although the results contained within these pages are best viewed as tentative or preliminary they address the role of alcohol as a potentially positive force. Relief workers, through the consumption of alcohol, provided a means through which they could shape, in some way, their everyday experiences within Camp #9.

Ultimately, as the above critique of my own works illustrates, far more research is required in this area of Canada's history. I hope that future researchers will have the opportunity to refer to this thesis and offer their critique, insight and contributions. For it will be through the interplay of similar studies that some semblance of the experience of the men who worked in the relief camps will be derived. Men like Art White who, a little over one month before the Regina Riots, wrote:

I don't [think] there will be a Hell of a lot of rain this Summer[;] there is a lot of unrest in the Dundurn Relief Camp, likely to be a burst up at any time[;] they are raining Hell up at the Court and down East – Something will have to be done Dam quick, don't think the Boys will stick it much longer. There will be quite a change when the other power get in but that will not be until the fall, rather late to start any thing yet, so I guess these Camps will run for one more Winter (May 18, 1935).



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## **Appendix I**

What follows are the transcriptions of letters from Art White to Jack Linge. The letters are transcribed in their entirety. Square quotations are employed in the following manner: 1) Square parentheses around a word indicate the author's best guess as to the identification of that word. 2) Square parentheses around italicized text indicates the author's capacity to identify the presence of a word but not actually recognize it or indicates the condition of the letter which has made text unreadable. The occurrence of curved parentheses is a direct transcription of the text of the letters. The letters are provided in chronological order.

P.S. Please [word] [word] to  
address [envelope]

Prince Albert  
April 1<sup>st</sup> 1933

Dear Jack,

Just a few line to let you know I am leaving Camp on April 28<sup>th</sup>. Now about the junk Perhaps it would be to[sic] much to expect you to pack the whole Sack over to Earl – If you do, I should like you to do so in time for it to come up on the train from White Fox on Thursday the 26<sup>th</sup> of April – But if that is asking to[sic] much of you, will you please open up the Sack, and send me the following by (Parcel Post) You will find a Coat Sweatter[sic] “Rim [I] of Green with Red Lines” – A pair of Moleskin Riding Breeches – Grey Winter Cap – Army Tunnick or Jacket – Now Jack, if you will be good enough to send me these things I shall be much obliged to you, or you can send the whole works, just as you like – I will leave it to you. If you send the whole works let it come C.O.D. I think it would be best on second thoughts to open up the sack and send me the things mentioned above, and not the whole works – I have enclosed 1 Dollar Bill which I think will cover the Charge of Portage – I do not know if I shall have any luck in the way of getting back in the H.B.A. [word] I do not know, if I do not go to see, There is to be [word] [word] [word] [word] to be spent on that Road this Summer [word] finest the job – there is not a thing down around P.A. Nothing on the Board in the Employment Office. There are just a few jobs going on Farms at 5 00/000 to 10 00/000 per Month – A fellow is better off to stay right here than a job like that – If I do not land a jo

b on the H.B. in a week I shall come back here – There are quite a few leaving the Camp on Thursday, and they will be leaving every week now – There is of course the same summer of 20 or 25 00/000 per Month starting from the 1<sup>st</sup> of May – But that is all Bull Shit. The wages here will be never be any more that[sic] 20 Cents per day – We are digging ditches now for Drainage and putting in Concrete drain Pipes – Some are building a large (sic) Club House on the Golf Course, and Dance Hall – They are surely getting a dam lot of cheap labour out of us fellows, but we can either do it, or get out,



Now Jack, do not bother to send me the whole works, it would be best to roll the things up I have mentioned in a Gunny Sack, or what ever you have and send them to me by Parcel Post, If you could get them up to the Post in time to [word] W. Fox on April 21<sup>st</sup> The Parcel would then come up in the Train leaving W. Fox on Thursday 26<sup>th</sup>. I have enclosed address for Parcel to be sent. I then [word] collect when I get in – Hoping I am not causing you [word] [word] trouble

Yours [word]

[Art]

10/10/33

(Camp 2)  
Waskeskui[sic] Lake  
Prince Albert National Park  
Prince Albert

Dear Jack,

I am just writing you a few hurried line to let you know that I had a Letter from the Legion – I do not have to give my Homestead over on applying for the Old Age Pension – Not having been Over Years I [word] [word] that I can [word] that until I [word] [word] of Age [word] [word] written for my [word] [word] Certificate, but it has not come through yet – If you still care to, you can carry on as arranged, I will keep to my point of it – I do not think I shall be able to claim the Pension for another 5 years yet, by that time I hope to be [word] up – Carry on with the good work – I have just received the Tax Papers – Grant 48 Dollars Homestead 24 Dollars – Rush is sure Mail

Good bye

Art

Waskesiu Lake

Dec 14<sup>th</sup> 1933

Dear Jack,

[water damage to page] for several Letters [last] is not know [word] for received them – We are having a great time here, Knee deep in Snow, cutting brush – I have been layed[sic] up for the past 3 or 4 days – You may remember I had rather bad Toe Nails – I have had them sawed off with a Hack Saw- borrowed from the Blacksmith – Hope you came out O.K. with the Harvest – The old Age pension is off – I shall have to wait until I am 70 years of Age – I was 60 Years of Age last June – [word] only for those that were Over seas with the Canadian Forces that can get the pension at 60 – I was with the Imperials which of course is nothing to do with the Canadian Government and how is the Cabin [word] the Harvest [word] [word] the Cellar has [water damage to page] in it – They may take the Timber [word] this fall – I have enclosed a stamped envelope for reply if you have time – Hope you have a right good Xmas and the best of Luck – I should like you to send me a Sweater I left and a few other things in the Cabin later on – I then would send you the Postage for same.

Good bye – Yours – Art

P.A. National Park  
Camp 8  
Prince Albert Feb 18<sup>th</sup> 34

Dear Jack,

I wrote you a few weeks back sending you the application for Timber permit – did you get it – I enclosed stamped envelope for reply, but perhaps you got buy[sic] with the buzzer, or perhaps you got a job for the Month [word] I hope so [word] have [water damage to page] for the part with [water damage to page] day, tramping [water damage to page] started to freeze up again now – Though you receive this Letter I should like you if possible to answer same as I want to send you the portage for a few thing[sic] I should like you to send me I guess everything is pretty well [word] in the Cabin – Has the Cellar caved in [word] years it will this Spring, then I shall be Homeless, well I will not put much in this Letter, as you may never get it – It will soon be Spring now – I am going down to the Pass – I [word] [word] work back again on the H.B. Rail – Please write –

Cheer E. Oh

Yours truly  
A. A. White



P.A. National Park

Camp 8

March 25<sup>th</sup>, 1934

Dear Jack,

Thanks for your two letters received. Well, how are things going with you? Getting ready for the great spring rush – we are all getting hitchy[sic] feet up here, I am afraid it is going to be a bugger of a time again this summer to land a job worth while – If I had not got any thing in view, I would stop right here, but I have had a letter from the [superintendent] of the H. B. R. stating that he would try to find me a possible – I guess that is good enough to take a chance on [beating] my way down. Now Jack about my junk – I know that I am a Hell of a nuicance[sic] to you, but I wonder when ever you can get over to my cabin, if you could get the Gunny Sack of junk and get Earl to take the whole works up to the Post Office when he goes for mail – Then the Post Master could take it in to White Fox and get it shipped to me C.O.D. There is lots of time yet, but I thought I would write about it now, so as to give you time, it would not be so far if you could get across the river on the ice to Earl[sic] place, or he might be over your way with the team – I shall not be leaving the Camp until next Month (April 28<sup>th</sup>) of course I shall have to put my 4 months on the Homestead, but if I can get back on the Railroad, I can make enough to put in that time next fall but I do not want to spend any more money on the cabin – I am thinking of settling[sic] down in P. A. and I am buying a lot out of the City Limit I can get good lot the other side of the river for 15 to 18 Dollars – No Rates – just Land Lase[sic] which comes to 75 cents or 1 00/000 per year I will write you later on and send you 1 Dollars to pay for the freight on the Gunny Sack to take into White Fox – If the Mail Currier can take it in on April 21<sup>st</sup> it can be sent up in the Train leaving White Fox on April 26<sup>th</sup> I can collect it when I get in and pay freight – I do not know what the name is, but all return Men in Camp have been examined by the doctor, a full report made to the [Lets] of the Legion, I think they are going to find easy and steady jobs for all return Men, of settle us on the Land with a Start I really do not know what the Hell is going on at present I am in a Snow shovelling Gang there sure is lots of it – We had a [tractor] go through the ice last week,

and of course the Orwin was drowned [off aid] luck – Well Jack – I will write again in a few days and send you the freight Dont[sic] work to[sic] hard –

Yours Truly

A. A. White

June 4<sup>th</sup> 1934

P.A. National Park

Camp 8

Prince Albert

Dear Jack,

Many thanks for Gunny Sack received O.K. – You will see by above address that I am back in the Camp again – I did not have enough to go to The Pass, and I also met two fellows I know that were down in The Pass last fall and got stranded there, and go into the Relief Camp at The Pass, as soon as spring opened up they were burned out of there with 24 hrs notice to get to their own province – They strongly advised me to keep away from there as there were 1000 of Men in the Relief camp that would be put on the Road as soon as the work opened up – There was not any work around P.A. a few Farm Jobs – One job at 12 Dollars per Month, and could not pay until Harvest (perhaps not at all) Another job at 10 Dollars for Month – Must be a good Horseman, and good Milker – You know what job that would be I was lucky in a way to get back here as I quit – All Men that quit are through – But I put the matter before the Mayor and got back – I think in a few days I shall be more further North – To Montreal Lake – There is a small gang of 10 men wanted to put a Road through from Waskesiw[sic] Lake to Montreal Lake, a Distance of about 38 Miles – I was working on that Road last fall, The Forman told me I can go back on that job if I want to when they start up – Well, Jack, what about the Homestead, are you doing anything on it? – I few weeks back I found a Notice for [word]10 Dollars I had for Relief in 1931 – The interest on that to date is 12 80/000 – If you really intent to work on my quarter to prove up on it, well and good – If not Jack, I might just as well pull off right now, I understand you to say that of course you will pay all Taxes on the Homestead Quarter – They are somewhere around 25 Dollars – Under the present conditions I do not have to live on the quarter as long as I stay in the Relief Camp – I shall not be coming back. There will not be any Harvest this year, or very little.

Your truly

Art

Dundurn Camp –

Dundurn – Sask

Feb 17<sup>th</sup> 1935

Dear Jack,

I received your Letter of Oct 28. I hope you make good at the Cord Wood. Although there has not seem to be much in that, after the Expenses are taken out of it. There sure is plenty of work about it – I have seen Homestead – around P.A. had in a load and not be able to trade it for Groceries and have dumped it on the Road rather than Cart it back again. I am still in the Relief Camp as you see, but I hope to get back for a few weeks on the Railroad in the Spring – I shall be coming out of here about the end of Spring, if I can I will run up to see you, if you will be back by then, but I will write again before that, to make sure as to where you are I shall like to see you to arrange matters. Well, I think the worst of the Winter is over now, we have a week of fine weather here. Things must be still bad [word] for there has been around about another 100 Men come in during the past week that make the total number in Camp around 2000. Of course they come and go, and most of them are getting the Spring fever owing to a week of fair weather, but I figure another two Month yet before I pull out – Best of Luck, should like to hear from you when ever you have time

yours Truly

A. A. White



No.2232

Dundurn Camp

Dundurn – Sask

April 16<sup>th</sup> 1935

Dear Jack,

Many thanks for your letter of March 28<sup>th</sup> received yesterday – I'm sorry that you could not make a go of the Cord Wood, although I hardly expected that you would, Lots of hard work, but very little money in it – Yes, we sure have had a tough Winter – This of course is all bald headed Praise around here, just a little small poplar in places, all pure sand, [word] [word] to beat the hand – or it will be so when it dries up – Saturday and Sunday we had a devil of a Snow storm and was there any wind, I would say so – to day it is sleet and rain – I have got a job in the Cook House – I would rather work outside myself, as bad as it is – There is a Hell of a row going on just now The Camp, or the hut I am in of 150 Men cut all in [word] – Two of the guys got fired this morning, I do not know how it will turn out yet – There are about 18 quit all ready – Now Jack, about coming down I should awful well like to, that is if I could get a job – you mention that there will be a little work doing at the Mills in the Spring, but I guess there are plenty to do it, but I should like to get a job with Dave so as I could work off some of the dept I owe for that Dam Lumber, or at any other Mill as far as that goes – Now Jack would you care to see Dave or put it to Him to give me a job or any body [sic] else you know – You see Jack I have got but very little Money saved out of 5 00/000 per Month but if I could get a Letter from Dave or any one that will give me work, I can show that to the Captain and then get a free ticket to where ever the job is – I should awful [word] like to come down, but it would not be any use unless I could be sure of a job – I would sort me at least 1 00/000 if I payed[sic] my fare and it would not be worth my while to do that with no work in sight So Jack, I hardly expect you to trouble fronting me a job but I did think of writing to Dave, but perhaps that would not be the think[sic] to do – I must leave it to you to do what you think is best – But if I was sure about getting a job and had a Letter to prove that where I could get a Half rate ticket on the strength of it, why I should be only to [sic] pleased to come down – I have just made further enquiries and find that it is not a [word] pass only as far as Saskatoon

– Half rate from there providing one has a Letter [proving] work I think you will understand – Has my cabin caved in yet to the Cellar – They seem to think that there will be a good crop this year, Lord alone knows why they should think so – there are quite a lot of Bachelor Farmers in Camp that have got stormed out [word] to no crops – A good Crop this year is the only think[sic] that will save this province – Well Jack I am sorry for writing such a long Letter all about myself, but still as I have written, if you could do anything in the way of speaking for me, and I could get a Letter offering me work, I should be only to[sic] pleased to come down, I might make enough to stick around and help you clear up some more brush – The quarter and half around until [word] I have enclosed a stamped address addressed envelop for reply which I hope you will be able to do at your earliest convenience. It has started to Rain now, that will do for some good [than] what we shall. Well Jack, hopin[sic] to hear from you soon. Good luck, and don't do anything that I wouldn't do – Good bye – I think it is Beans for supper tonight and a tea Spoon full of Jam – No Meat – It is supper anyway –

Yours Truly

A.A. White

Dundurn Camp

Dundurn – Sask

May 18<sup>th</sup> 1935

Dear Jack,

Many thanks for your letter of May 9<sup>th</sup> received yesterday – Thanks for the Enclosure which I know would help me to get a cut rate down, but as much as I should like to come, I am not really able to do so on a chance of getting work and then as you know, even if the Cabin is still standing, I should have to put more Tar Paper on the roof and other things, and I do not figure on spending one more Nickel on the place - At present I am broke flat again – There was a rumour going around Camp that the Railroads will open up on the 15<sup>th</sup> of this Month. You know I worked on the Lift Gang between Melford and H. B. [ground] last summer, and was promised work again this year – there was a cheap trip from here to P.A. last Friday the 10<sup>th</sup> which I took in to see what was doing – I got a week end[sic] leave – Well I saw the Road Master who told me that the work will not start until the 8<sup>th</sup> or 10<sup>th</sup> of July – The same time as last year – He figures on there being 4 months work It depends on the Crop – But still he has promised me work again and will let me know when [word] down, so I think that would be the best move for me to make I think as I [told] you in one of my other Letter I have got a Lot 2 Miles] out of P.A. which I gave 10 Dollars for – This fall, I am getting a few Logs down and put up a [word] Cabin and settle down with a Squaw from the Reserve – there is a lots of time yet but I will keep in touch with you and again [word] [word] the work will be between P.A. and M[elford], and from there somewhere North Well Jack how are you getting along – Any Fish in the river? – How is Earl getting along any young ones yet - I guess Fred Easten has hooked the school Marm by now – Ask him if he thinks it will Rain – I don't [think] there will be a Hell of a lot [of rain] this Summer, there is a lot of unrest [in the] Dundurn Relief Camp likely to a burst up at any time, they are raining Hell up at the Court and down East – Something will have to be done Dam quick, don't think the Boys will stick it much longer. There will be quite a change when the other power get in but that will not be until the fall, rather late to start any thing yet, so I guess these Camps will run for one more Winter - "How is Bruno" This

Camp is full of many Dogs and Cats will on Relief thanks to Father Bennett I wish I could take a leafe[sic] out of your Book and know how to get along without having to come to Camp – But still I guess there is many a worse place we have a good bed and something to eat for which we work three hours per day for – that is if we feel like it – If not we do not have to Well Jack as stated, I will keep in touch with you and if I get [word] again [word] [word] [word] I will try to look you up when I get through – Many thanks again for your Letters, as much as I should like to come, it would be better to wait a while – Well Jack sorry for writing such a long letter, Hope you will strike soner[sic] this Summer, although I guess you will have lots of work to do, but I am Dammed if I can figure out how you eat, well Jack [word] Will write again one Day and let you know.

Yours Truly

Art

July 21<sup>st</sup> – 1935

Dundurn Camp  
Dundurn – Sask

Dear Jack,

Your letter of July 7<sup>th</sup> received. It made good time, I see it was ported in Nipawin. Guess that accounts for it – I am writing you a few lines by return, but don't expect you will receive it with Saturday's Mail – I am right glad that you have been able to prove up your Homestead you certainly deserve all that is coming to you – I guess you are right concerning my quarter, but I think I wrote you some time back, that before coming into this Camp, I called at the Land Office at P.A. and explained my case, and got (leave of absence from living, or doing any work on the Homestead for 12 Months, which time will be up next September. 2 Months yet. I then can put in for another 6 Months. That will carry me along until Spring. Somewhere around April) No Jack, I think as you state in your letter if the arrangement still stands good with you why I think it would be a good idea to rip 10 Acres at least and broadcast or anything – I then could apply for my patent – How about a barn did you put one up on your quarter – If some of those Dam Nosy People at the Torch would be good enough to keep their noses out of other people's affairs, I think they would be better off they might get their noses caught in a trap – Well Jack as you will see, I am still at the Camp – The Railroad work I wrote you about which was to start on the 10<sup>th</sup> of the Month as been cancelled until the 5<sup>th</sup> of next Month – August. It is rather late, but even then if they start up I could get in at least 2 month work. I could make more than I could at Harvest – But if the Railroad falls through, why I shall go to Saskatoon around the 15<sup>th</sup> of August and take my chance at Harvest. I see nothing else for it but one more Winter in the Dam Camps – They are counts more Men in the White Fox Camps, to stay until October – No one wants to go there – I hope you will get this letter before you hit the trail – Do not answer this letter until you hear again from me. I might get back on the R.R. when the gang starts up – I will write to you c/o. J. Simpson. White Fox. Yours he will know where you are – Thanks for Address – I wrote to one, but have not any answer. Yours I will let it go – Squaw is good enough for me back in P.A. I will write when [word] – Yours [word]

Art



Dundurn Camp

Dundurn Sask

Oct 10<sup>th</sup> 1935

Dear Jack,

I am enclosing this Letter in one sent to Mr. Simpson to be forwarded to you – I hope that you receive it safely – I will not write at any length in this Letter until I hear from you with a settled address – I have something of the greatest import to put you [word] to when hearing from you – I will register the Letter to you, then there will not be any chance of it getting into other Hands – I went out for a few days on the Railroad but I got with a Foreman who did not know me, and he just worked the ass right off me after 6 days I was all in and had to quit Much younger Men than me did the same I was up around Burch Hills – The crew looked good around there – How did you make out – OK I hope – These fellows in the Gang I am in had a letter from a fellow they know who is doing some cutting somewhere North of White Fox, and they went up there yesterday – I think there will be quite a bit of Bush Work this Winter If Dave is likely to take a Contract, or let out a Contract, I would come up there this Winter, if I could get a Bull Cook Job, That would help to pay off what I owe Dave, [word] that [word] [word] [word] [word] by now, with the interest to [word] [word] to it – Now Jack, write to me as quickly as possible and give me a safe address, I then will send you a registered Letter to be sure of it Well, Cheer – OK –

Yours Truly

Art

Dundurn Camp. Sask:

Nov 6<sup>th</sup> 1935

Dear Jack,

Received your letter of Oct 16<sup>th</sup>. I will try to write as plainly as I can – I will register the Letter to make sure of your getting it although it really may not be of such importance, Any way it may act as a bluff to others, who might think that a Registered Letter contained money for the improvement of the Homestead – You will understand – well Jack, I went out the early part of August and got back on the Railroad out of P.A. I only lasted 6 days, I then broke right down Worked the ass off me and had to quit Well, I called at the Land Office in P.A. and there was told that they had received a Letter from somewhere, or somebody putting in a Quarter against my Quarter – Stating that nothing had been done out it except put up a Log Cabin. Of course as I wrote you, I got 12 Months leave of absence from the Quarter, which was up last September – I have now got another 12 Months But I faithfully promised that (I could get my Neighbour to break up 5 Acres this fall. If possible, if not at least 10 Acres in the Spring) Of course I do not know who it was that put in the cancellation – Perhaps Dave – Any way they wrote from the Land Office that they must have made a mistake with the Location of the Quarter as they had not any entry of such a Quarter – Of course that was just a bluff to still hold it for me – But this is my last chance – I still hold the Quarter until next September – Now Jack, I hope that I have made this quite clear to you – If you are still in the same mind to buy my Quarter as arranged for 180 Dollars Half Down in Cash – Or of course the lump sum if possible why I usually think it would [word,] you to try and break up a few Acres right now – I think you could get 5 Acres around the Cabin for as you know it has all been fire killed and what few stumps there are, why are all rotten, can be kicked out by the foot – Of course the arrangement only stands good after I have proved up – Now if you really want the quarter why you had better get busy – If you could get 10 or 12 Acres broken up between now and say next June, I could put in for my free tith[sic] – Now Jack, I have made every thing quite clear – Well Jack – I guess there must be a Post Office open up at Love Siding I think that is what they call the siding that was know as Jacob's siding Rather a wild place to make Love in – You know Correspondence Club – I am having nothing to do with it – I did write to three for

them, but never had any reply. May be it was an old List you sent me, and they were mapped up – I had a job offered me in the Avenue Hotel at P.A. as Night Clerk – I held it down for 3 Nights, and then it got the best of me – Too many Phone Calls, in fact and regular wills board to opperate[sic], Long Distance and all Kinds of calls – and I am so Dam Deaf that I really could not hear on the Phone – just like a Dam Bee in a Bottle – There was not much in it 15 Dollars per Month – I really want a Railroad Opperator to work that Switch Board – Do you think I could land a job up there as Bull Cook in any Logging Camp – Perhaps Dave may let out a Contract this Fall. They claim that there will be quite a lot of Bush work this Fall – I do not know if you will get this letting on Saturday, but I am trying to rush it through so as perhaps you may do – Now I hope that you quite understand – I have the right to hold the Quarter until next September – on condition that I break or have broken at least 10 Acres by the Spring next Year – if possible to get 5 Acres broken up right now to save any further bother, so Jack of course it is up to you if you want it, why get busy – I then can proove[sic] up – I am working in one of the Kitchens here, dishing up the Soup – There are 5 Kitchens – each feeding 550 Men each – 2,750 Men to feed at present, and they are still coming in – I have to work at least 8 to 9 Hrs per Day for my lousy 20 cents. Well Jack, I will close wishing you the best of Luck – Write and let me know if I have made every thing clear to you –

yours Truly

Art

Dundurn Camp – Sask

Nov 8<sup>th</sup>. 35

Dear Jack,

I sent your Letter of Nov 8<sup>th</sup>. Our Letters must have crossed for I wrote and Registered a Letter to you on Nov the 7<sup>th</sup> addressing it to c/o Post Office – Love. Sask: That is now around a month ago – I have not as yet received an answer – Perhaps you are not interested in the contents of Letter – Please let me know, I then can make other arrangements – If you do not want what I offer, why it does not matter I will keep it myself for awhile until I can make other arrangements – Any way[sic] please let me know if you received the Register Letter, if not I will get busy and trace it. I quite expect that in the early Spring this Camp will be closing down. I have the chance offered to go back to the National Park at P.A. which I sure shall take in the early spring. Please write-

Yours Truly

A.A. White

Dundurn Camp

Dec 21<sup>st</sup> 1935

Dear Jack,

I wrote and Registered the Letter to you Nov 7<sup>th</sup> addressed to c/o Post Office – Love – Sask – Since that I have written you again to find out if you did receive Letter mentioned. I have not as yet received an answer to either of the Letters – Of course you may not be interested in the contents of the Registered Letter, but in any case I think you would have answered my Letter one way or the other – I am putting the matter in the Hands of the Post Master at Dundurn to trace the Registered Letter. Of course, you may be Sick, which I hope is not the case, or you may be away working someplace, but even then, I think you would have called, or had your Mail forwarded to you, I can but think you have not received either of my Letters, but of course I shall soon know – The whole of the Camp is on Strike, and has been for the past Week – I think there will be quite a bust up here before very long. We can stand this sort of thing for a certain time, but not for ever[sic] – Things are fairly quiet at present, but every one is on the jump and ready for anything. Well Jack, I wish you all the best for Xmas, and sincerely hope that the New Year will open with a better outlook for us all –

yours Truly

A.A. White

No2232

Dundurn Camp

Dundurn Sask

Mr. J. Linge

c/o Post Office

Love

Sask



P.A.N.P.  
Prince Albert  
Feb 16<sup>th</sup> 1936

Dear Jack,

Just a few line to let out know that I am back once again the Park but, say, it sure is cold up here yesterday it touched 54 below – My fingers have started to crack open with the cold We sure are getting the best of Eats, every thing a fellow could wish for, and real good clothes – I have got enough to start a store with! – Well jack I will do as you say, but I do not know if I can still hold the quarter – I will do my best I shall be down in P.A. around the 26<sup>th</sup> of next month – March, to get a bottom Plate of Teeth \_ I have had all my own out and feel a lot better for it – I will call at the Land Office and try to get another 6 month grant. I think perhaps I can, for I have been given to understand that if I am still in a Relief Camp, I can get every chance any way [sic] I will do my best – They figure in paying a small wage up here dating from 1<sup>st</sup> April – The rates are 10 00/000, 15 00/000 and 25 Dollars per Month for skilled Labourers – Board and Clothes included At present there are only 3 Camps open I am back in my old Camp at Waskesiw[sic] Lake there are only around 50 Men in this Camp Taking out Ice, cutting rounds and having Fire Wood with a Buzzer, for the Camps, and Tourists There will be a lot more Camps open up next month – I [word] have job offered as [Time R] at 25 Dollars per Month – with the best of Eats and Clothes – Well Jack I hope you make a go of the Logging and that all is well with you – I guess reading between the lines, you figure on Getting Married, The best of Luck, but not for mine – Well good bye, if you care to write, send to address given below –

Camp 7  
A.A. White  
c/o Prince Albert National Park  
Prince Albert

in the Spring anyway – They are opening up to National Park at P.A. again for Single Men – Notice up in the Canteen last week for Volunteer to send in their names to the Head Quarters Office – Of course I did so – There's a rumour going around the Camp that we might go off on Wednesday for the Park – There is around about 380 Volunteers so far – I do not know exactly but I think the wages will be 25 Cents per Hr 8 Hour Day – 2 00/000 – 60 Cents per Day board leaving a balance of 1 60/000 per Day – That will not be to[sic] bad. One of the jobs will be to open up a Road between Waskesiu Lake and Lake Lurange[sic]. around[sic] 60 Miles to Road work – I helped to cut the Road to Montreal Lake, that is as far as we got – I know quite a lot of People in P.A. who told me they would do there[sic] best to get me a good job when the Park opens up – They have quite a pull on the right Ropes – Assistant Foreman job of Checking, or something like that – Well Jack, so you think of really taking on to yourself a Wife – Cheer. E. O. You sure have got a Nerve – Some years ago I was writing to some Girls as you know – One Girl wrote and told me that I ought to be sent to North Battleford Mud House to ever think of leaving the C.P.R. to go Homestead – I guess she was quite right – she had some experience with Homesteading, but never again – I know a few Half Breeds around P.A. who would be just tickled to come and live with me when I get settled down – Thus we are both free to come and go as we like – Well, Jack, we have quite a Strike on in the Camp for the part of 3 weeks, although some of the Boys went back to work on the 1<sup>st</sup> of the Month, but now there is something else gone wrong and they are all coming to [word] [word] really do not know if it will be finished up – Now Jack, if you care to answer this Letter when every you have time, the above address will find me, if I should be gone, the Letter will be forwarded – I should like to know what you think about my writing to Kurk Francais to see if He will break up say 8 or 10 Acres and of course take the Crop – If not, I shall have to loose it – That I do not want to do – Of course I shall still be willing to have it for 150 Dollars – 50 Dollars down – If I do not get something done by the Spring – It will be Cancelled on me – for I really can't hold out any longer – Sorry for writing such a long Letter – Good Luck

Yours Truly Art

Love Sask

July 16/36

Dear Art.

Just a few lines to let you know that I'm still alive I'll bet that you think that I'm one hell of a Correspondent Will do better tho[sic] next time Art. I have been quite busy all this time I worked at the mill all Spring Dave sure had one hell of a lot of trouble with his mill this year the dam thing is just about all shot to hell anyway I was running one of the Engines so that was not to[sic] bad. Well it soon will be harvest time again and I really don't know Where to go this fall Crops ar[sic] good just around White Fox We have had lots of rain they ar[sic] not so very good south of Nipawin and Cochetter – in southern Sask. Crops ar[sic] shot owing to lack of rain. so the situation looks dangerous not enough feed. I guess it will be pretty hard on them old farmers down there, Well now about the homestead Art. I have did a little Clearing on It. Will try to break it in the fall When I come back from harvest I hope you will still hold it till then. there[sic] was a Couple a fellows up here last week from Swift Current looking for homesteads but no body seems to know a thing about yours so I think that your quite safe yet I was talking to these fellows and told them that there was no more homesteads around here that Would be any good, you will remember Rogers one 2 ½ Miles south a the mill he moved out last Spring had a letter from him last week he is in B. C. now Vancouver offers them fellows on the Sand may just as well pull of it they sure can't make aliving[sic] on it. I sure hope you could come up next winter Art. I suppose you'll take in the P.A. Fair next month I'll try and get down if I can make it atall and maybe we could meet there then so Write soon I will answer as soon as I here[sic] from you. Will Close now Hoping that this will find you in the best of health as it [word] me

Your Sincer[sic] Friend

J. Linge

### Appendix B: Artifact Distribution by Function and Operation

CODE	FUNCTION	OPERATION							
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1	Unknown	7	25	11	17	68	8		
110	Ammunition		5						
114	Animal Husbandry	1							
120	Food Storage			2	109	154			
130	Food Preparation				7	26			1
140	Food Serving				2	5			
150	Fauna	31		49		487			
160	Flora					134			
210	Hardware	1	2						
220	Construction Nail	163	22	43		209	35		
221	Hardware Fasteners	2		4					
231	Structural Material	3		13	1		12		
241	Illumination and Power	26		3	2				
252	Draperies and Dry Goods								
330	Clothing			15	2				
340	Clothing Fasteners	1	10	24					
420	Packing and Storing				3		7		.1
430	Pocket Tools and Accessories				1		3		
440	Tobacco		14		36	12	1	1	
441	Alcohol				7	3			6
442	Sweets and Indulgences				7				1
461	Personal Medical		1				1		
703	Stone Tool Manufacture			1			1		
<b>Totals</b>		235	79	165	194	1098	68	1	9
<b>Total From All Operations</b>		1849							
<b>Total Number of Artifacts</b>		1282							
<b>Total Number of Fauna</b>		567							